The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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The World Mourns a Great Leader

THE REIGN of Pius XI was one of the most active pontificates of modern times. It is possible in passing to mention only a few of the outstanding achievements that can be directly attributed to the intrepid Pontiff whose body now rests in the crypt of St. Peter's near the tombs of Pius VI, Pius X and Benedict XV. Twenty encyclicals on a wide range of subjects attest to the fact that Pius was a great teacher; perhaps the most important of them dealt with the Christian education of youth, Christian marriage and the reconstruction of the social order. Historians will point to the solution of the Italian question, the establishing of Vatican City as a sovereign state and a score of concordats with various governments. Catholic Action or "the participation of the laity organized in the hierarchical apostolate of the Church, apart from and above all party politics, to establish the universal reign of Jesus Christ," was inaugurated as a movement as early as 1923. The furthering of the mutual knowledge of the Christian traditions of the East and the West and great solicitude for the Orthodox Church generally marked the Holy Father's untiring endeavors that all men might be one; and the impetus he gave to missionary activity was crowned with success. In fact the number of the faithful increased by more than one-third during his pontificate. But for all these and many other achievements, Pius XI's reign was a time of increasing perplexities and intense sorrow for a leader so desirous of civil and international peace. The post-war world was reaping the bitter fruits of nineteenth-century individualism. The rise of communism, fascism and nazism led to outright religious persecution or painful compromise to maintain the religious existence of the Church. Cruel wars broke out in Ethiopia, Spain, the Far East; the faithful were persecuted in Russia, Spain, Mexico, Germany.

Pope Pius XI

Why did Pius XI exert so powerful a personal attraction for the modern world? Certain aspects of a character so many-sided that it explains his intense admiration for Leonardo da Vinci immediately come to mind. His interest in science, his extensive use of the latest inventions, his zest for scholarship, his statesmanship, to mention only a few of his qualities on the purely naturalistic plane, were especially attractive in a society that sets such a store by these things alone. But in a time of disorder and stress it was the Holy Father's love of peace, his concern for suffering humanity, his passion for human freedom and social justice, his Catholic tolerance that evoked the tributes of men of every race and creed. The simple fact of his death and his dying plea for peace are believed to have postponed any possible steps toward European war at least by several months. Paying homage to Pope Pius XI as an exemplar of many of their keenest aspirations, may all seekers of the truth pause to reflect on the source of his moral influence and personal power—a power deriving not only from his authority as the Vicar of Christ and the successor of Saint Peter or as the visible head of the world-wide Roman Catholic Church, but also from the Faith which, under the most difficult conditions, fired, sustained and drove him on.

A Federal Planning Board

ONE OF Mr. Roosevelt's favorite agencies is the National Resources Committee, a research and advisory body with regional subdivisions whose purpose is to assist in every way in the intelligent correlation of physical improvements throughout the nation, be these improvements merely zoning regulations for a small town or flood control schemes affect-

Investment Counsel for the Nation

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ing the people of several states. The committee has issued many reports on the most diversified subjects. It has been attacked by enemies of the New Deal as being another regulatory body, the fruit of whose efforts will be the eventual total regulation of the American people. Such criticism seems unduly alarmist. One can criticize many agencies of the New Deal on the score that they interfere too much with personal or corporate independence. Although we do not often hold with such criticism, at least it represents a defensible attitude. But the National Resources Committee has never had any regulatory powers, and in his recent recommendation to Congress that it enact "legislation to provide for continuation, correlation and decentralization of planning work," the President asks for no such increase in powers. The size of the matter is this: the government, central and local, has been forced into an unprecedented amount of investment spending —parkways, bridges, tunnels, schools, drought and flood control, housing—and such activities run the risk of being wastefully managed if there is not some integrated planning connected with them. We have already hundreds of municipal, county, state and regional planning boards. The work of all these can be helped federally, as farmers are helped by the Department of Agriculture or businessmen by the Department of Commerce. Congress, if it refuses to see the need for a permanent advisory planning agency, should be sure it is not cutting off its nose to spite its face.

Labor Relations Bore the Public

Problems and Paradoxes

CONGRESS and Doctor Gallup show a trend to conservatism in labor affairs, as also do such less deliberate reflectors of the national mood as movies, shows and popular papers and magazines. In the latter there has been a definite falling off of space devoted to labor news, and this most likely means that people who are not compelled by their situation in life to worry about labor problems are no longer interested in reading about them during spare time. Probably many who are forced to be immersed in them during working hours likewise now try to avoid the thought of them when they can. To a very human degree, there is that old relaxation of spiritual tension, that tiredness of the conscience which so regularly makes we-the-people stop before we begin. The status quo has a great advantage over any change. That is why reformers, except for the most heroic, will not finally settle such problems; the follow-up is in the hands of those whose lives depend inescapably on them: the unemployed, employees whose wages give no margin, employers who are definitely orientated toward greater efficiency and greater profits (or fewer losses), politicians in labor and industry and government, the field of whose regular jobs is labor relations.

The general public is turned aside from following labor problems, which deeply affect everyone but with differences in directness, not only by sloth and boredom, but also by inevitable ignorance and the added moral discomfort of making up the mind. Should special craft groups in a business concern (say the carpenters in a coal company) be permitted to choose representatives of their own for their crafts when the whole number of the concern's employees, in a majority that submerges these crafts, vote for vertical, industrial representatives? Such problems, like Achilles and the turtle, baffle and disturb those of us who claim to possess no particular calculus of industrial problems or jurisdictional disputes. Minority rights should be maintained in general. Even in the case of alienable rights, there ought to be sufficient reason before they are taken away for the common good. The danger of having craft segments in an industrially unionized company is the danger of weakening the company's labor in general so that it can't do its duty in bargaining, negotiating, etc.

Men of recognizable and self-conscious crafts in a concern are likely to be the key men in the industrial process, the men it is most difficult to train and replace, men with higher income and superior status whose unity with the rank and file is least pressing. If enough craft unionists can be divided from the generality, the technique of divide and rule is made tempting and easy. Furthermore, the productive possibilities of union organization and vocational organization are made more difficult by horizontal subdivision within the industry. The place where these dangers become actual and threatening would seem to be the place where the crafts should give up minority rights of organization and representation—that place being a question of local fact for every business. Where the independent organization of a craft doesn't decrease the effectiveness of the organization which a majority of the business desires, there seems no reason to block the craft. It all seems to be relativity, and very difficult to put in an amendment to the Wagner Act.

Advocates Shorter and Better Education

It Must Be Paid For

IT IS nothing but fortunate, we think, that criticism should be so much the order of the day in all commentaries upon our current education. The exhaustive findings made not long ago upon the New York secondary school system, the reports on collegiate academic deficiencies in Pennsylvania, are merely the most publicized of a series of salutary critical examina-

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tions throughout the country. They presage pretty surely that many needed things will be done to American educational methods. But not every just critic of the status quo is equally right about his pet remedy — a generalization we would make specific in the case of Dr. Foster Kennedy, of the Cornell University Medical School, who has recently widened the controversy to include questions of medical education as well. Noting that medical students now must consume a good many years in prerequisite and professional training, and that the academic portion of that training is for the most part indifferently imparted, Dr. Kennedy demands two things: that present high school standards be improved, and that thereupon the liberal arts college training now required (which he feels is largely occupied with doing what high schools should do) be dispensed with, and medical training be comprised in a total college period of five years "carrying the humanities *pari passu*."

No thoughtful lay person but will say "Amen" to Dr. Kennedy's strictures on secondary education; but equally, we think, no thoughtful lay person but will be very dubious about his positive plan. Admitting, as he specifically does, the desirability of the liberal arts as a coordinated part of professional education, Dr. Kennedy cannot escape paying the price for them. The question is not primarily one of academic standards in high school or college. It is simply not possible to establish an adequate foundation in the humanities in a short time; those colleges which now do it badly in four years would still need the better part of four years to do it well. That this lengthens the educational life of medical students is true, but it cannot be helped. What Lincoln said about the ideal length of a man's legs—that they should be "long enough to reach the ground"—applies here also. The educational concept that requires a doctor to be a rounded, educated man, so long as it is accepted, must be met in its own terms. Dr. Kennedy should study the suggestions made by President Conant of Harvard before the Congress on Medical Education and License. Dr. Conant also approves the principle of coordinated liberal and medical training, but we hear no word of short cuts from him. What he asks for, instead of two four-year courses, is one eight-year course.

A Refugee Settlement

Plans for an Orderly Diaspora

AS GEORGE RUBLEE himself admits, the proposed settlement of the German Jewish refugee problem has much to be said against it. Yet it does look like a beginning of a solution of one small part of the refugee problem, undoubtedly the part that has attracted the most public attention, and one can sympathize with Mr. Rublee's decision to resign as head of the Intergovernmental (Evian) Committee. He has devoted several months more to his thankless task than was stipulated in the bond, and in turning it over to Sir Herbert Emerson, League High Commissioner for Refugees, and Mr. Robert T. Pell of the Intergovernmental Committee staff, he leaves it in good hands. The German plan is briefly this: 150,000 able-bodied Jews (persons having three or four Jewish grandparents, or persons of Jewish religion having two or more Jewish grandparents, or persons who have married Jews) will be allowed to emigrate during the next three to five years, as the other powers find room for them. They may be followed later by their dependents, up to 250,000 more persons. This will leave 200,000 aged or infirm Jews in Germany. The safety and livelihood of the latter is somewhat equivocally guaranteed, as is the right of the prospective emigrants to support themselves until they can move. One-quarter of the present property of German Jews may be used to pay emigration expenses; household goods, tools, etc., may be taken abroad by emigrants. One objection to the plan is that it constitutes a strictly unilateral agreement by Germany, and contains a specific provision whereby its terms may become inoperative if any action of "world Jewry" should offend Nazi susceptibilities. What reason have we to believe that Germany will stick to her terms? It must with sorrow be confessed that we have very little reason. Yet something is better than nothing, and prospects are good that an adequate annual quota of Jewish refugees can emigrate to the United States, Dutch Guiana, Australia, the Dominican Republic and Latin America so as to take up the number Germany is willing to let go.

It seems to us the settlement can be criticized from another point of view, especially since Mr. Rublee's resignation will give an unfortunate impression that the whole problem is settled. Simple addition seems to indicate that the arrangement makes no provision for Austrian Jews; admittedly no provision is made for German political refugees, nor for 75,000 German Catholics in need of emigration. There is not even a suggestion of a solution for the problem of Italian refugees, or Spanish, or Russian, or Chinese. If the nazification of central Europe should increase the number of Jews who must seek other homes, the present plan for absorbing the German Jews will be ridiculously inadequate in the face of a vastly increased Jewish problem. And, once more, what of the Christian refugees? A little charity is better than none at all, but if that little should quiet the world conscience and put a stop to the search for a larger solution, it must be questioned. Then, too, why are the Germans suddenly so generous? Events have forced the best-intentioned to view any Nazi generosity with suspicion.

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Parents Guilty of Cruelty

CRUELTY to children is almost universally felt to be intolerable. In the crimes of theft or even of murder, particular circumstances of pressure or extenuation may arouse sympathy for the criminal in the least soft-headed; because it is possible for normal people to identify themselves imaginatively with his action. But the cases of those gravely guilty against childhood are felt to involve a kind of brutality and moral perverseness which makes sympathy in the strict sense impossible. Even when that very protean term "insanity" is adduced as a tentative explanation, the utmost the normal mind can feel is a blank pity from which horror is never absent; so deep is the instinct of our obligation to the helpless human young. A word of caution here to those who can be heard facilely supposing that such phenomena are peculiar to our age or traceable to some special moral lack in us. Our age has its full measure of failures and tragic deficiencies, but we may fairly exempt ourselves from this charge. The satisfaction of cruelty toward the helpless is not one of our typical vices. What *is* typical of our age is the publicity—sometimes detailed to excess and correspondingly harmful—by which the impact of these matters on the public mind is multiplied. Actually, the annals of the human race give melancholy testimony that this type of cruelty, though never common, has occurred in all ages. A second consideration which comes to mind is of a more practical nature: how is it that the doers of these deeds of shocking violence are not more often checked before it is too late? It is not thinkable that the impulses which lead people to half or wholly murder their own children, give no previous warning of themselves. How then can it be explained that the forces by which society warns the violent and protects the weak, are not more frequently invoked to prevent crimes which sicken the whole community?

A Caution and a Question

Men Must Act When There Is No Peace

THE UNDERLYING preoccupation of thinking Americans today is to resolve in their own minds how our most cherished institutions can be defended against both internal and external attack. An evidence of this is the current "Calling America" number of the *Survey Graphic*. There are some who fear most the Marxist attack, some the Fascist (the term being used to comprehend both the Italian and the German brand of this form of government). Most frequently the line is drawn between "democracy" and "totalitarianism." What is the difference between these form of state organization? One gets nowhere by asserting that one system of government is free of graft, whereas the other is not; that one depends upon the will of a single absolute dictator imposed upon a terrified people, whereas the other springs from the free exercise of the franchise by all adult citizens. The difference is more complex.

The preamble of the Declaration of Independence is familiar to all of us. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." It is doubtful if the essence of what we have ambiguously come to call "democracy" has ever been better expressed.

On the other hand we have a conception of the state as being in itself an absolute, a "person," incorporating the mystical will of the people and having the right to make use of the individual citizen as it, the state, sees fit. Men, under this notion, have no rights, but merely liberties or privileges granted by the state when it pleases the state to grant them. Life has value only as it may be sacrificed for the state; liberty exists only as the privilege of freely giving oneself to the state; the pursuit of happiness is impossible except through the state.

There, in crude antithesis, are the two extremes. The "democratic" state has been conceived as a state of fixed law and procedure, of inalienable rights for its citizens—the minimum state. It can be a democracy, in the political sense, a republic, an aristocracy, an oligarchy, even a limited monarchy. The totalitarian state is a state where law and procedure can change completely over night if the "national will" as expressed through the national leader or group of leaders desires it, where no citizen has any right except the right (which is also a duty) of bending his will to conform to that of the nation—the maximum state. Once again—and this cannot be too much emphasized—the form of government can be pure political democracy, it can be republican (as in the U.S.S.R.), it can be aristocratic (as among the Incas), or oligarchical, or an absolute monarchy.

Luckily and properly no society ever exists as a perfect specimen of an abstract idea. Our own country is completely a democracy neither by the strict political definition nor by its complete adherence to the abstract concepts set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Neither Germany nor Russia nor Italy quite live up to the pattern of the ideal maximum state—the state of Rousseau, Fichte, Neo-Hegel and Marx. Yet America has always tended and still strongly tends

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toward "democracy"; Germany and Russia and Italy embody the nation of the absolute state.

The editor of *Foreign Affairs,* Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, has just published a remarkable analysis [1] of the events between February and October, 1938, which culminated in Munich. He sets out "to examine the political conceptions and the day-by-day actions which gradually led Britain and France to Munich." He is concerned with problems of expediency rather than of morals. To accomplish fully such a task so shortly after the events themselves would be impossible. Mr. Armstrong clearly thinks that British and French statesmanship was morally wrong. But he succeeds admirably in holding his moral judgments in check, and the result is a clarification of a recent chapter in world history which really clarifies the subject. If there is one moral to be drawn, it is the proneness of such men as Neville Chamberlain to take a provincial view of any given situation. So late as September 27, Prime Minister Chamberlain could say over the radio: "How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gasmasks here because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing." And this with reference to an "incident" the "solution" of which was, indeed, to avert a general war, but which was likewise to change the entire balance of power in Europe and to produce economic and strategic results which cannot even yet be appraised. But that Munich has driven the center of gravity of democracy across the Atlantic to our own shores very few will deny.

Last spring Mr. Lewis Mumford wrote in the *New Republic* an essay answering this question: what must we do if we are to defend democracy? He has just published an amplified version of this article. "Men Must Act" [2] makes many good and heartening points. It recognizes that one of the principles of democracy is "respect for the human individual." (One could only wish that Mr. Mumford had used the word, "person.") It recognizes and asserts that "it is democracy, rather than communism, that is the real alternative to fascist barbarism." It says that "the failure to reckon with what the French sociologist, Fouillée, called *idées-forces* is one of the most pathetic results of an uncritical acceptance of the economic interpretation of history." Yet "Men Must Act" is, in its very vocabulary, hysterical, and its analyses often seem over-simple. Thus the rôle played by Russian Communism in creating the contemporary situation is not at all properly appraised; the analysis of the Spanish Civil War as purely a struggle between fascism and democracy serves merely to confuse the issue. And Mr. Mumford's program for immediate action—complete non-intercourse, utter distrust of France and England, rearmament—is so extreme that it is likely to repel the most devoted democrat.

What, then, is to be done?

The motives which induce people to turn to totalitarianism are the desire for food, shelter, a certain feeling of heroic unity, and, above all, security. If these minima do not exist in a society, the "rights" of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are a mockery and men will not defend them. Neither Mr. Armstrong nor Mr. Mumford really come to grips with this problem; the former makes no pretense of doing so. Mr. Mumford is altogether too much inclined to minimize the basic human reasons for fascism; he retreats behind a formula: "There are higher aims . . . than merely preserving human life or fending off death." This is true enough, and as an expression of an *idée-force* it has profound value. But a neglect of the underlying wants which totalitarianism would satisfy may deprive any such *idée* of its *force.*

Classic liberalism, "capitalism," has failed to achieve these elementary aims. Unemployment, wage slavery, loneliness, destitution in the midst of plenty—these are the breeding ground of all totalitarianism. Attacks upon these social evils can be made from many fronts. To describe here the whole campaign of personalist democracy would be impossible; from time to time THE COMMONWEAL has presented discussions of what is being done in the attempt to find content for a personalist program. But it should be remembered that solutions of the problems arising from the social dislocations of our day are bound to involve some concessions away from the minimal democracy of our tradition. The point is to make sure that in the process we do not let the baby out with the bath water.

And there is another thing we can do, a more immediate and definite thing, which is to make an intelligent and truthful use of propaganda. Mr. Armstrong shows beyond a doubt that not only Germans were kept in the dark as to events during the Czech crisis; Englishmen and Frenchmen were also kept in ignorance of documents and happenings of which they should have been informed. We are not advocating a propaganda of lies, of "selling talk" and high pressure. Two wrongs do not make a right, and in the long run Hitler's policy of the bigger lie kills itself. But appeals to reason, to self-interest, to historical truth can be effective. And telling the truth about our own shortcomings can help us to right them—the only way, in the long run, to persuade modern man that it is worth his while to preserve those rights which the total state would have him sacrifice for a little food, a little clothing, a little sharing in the national glory, and a little security.

[1] When There Is No Peace, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

[2] Men Must Act, by Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.50.

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Three Appreciations of Pius XI

THE DEATH of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, closes an era which began with the election of Pope Pius IX in 1846 and has covered almost a full century.

It was during the pontificate of Pope Pius IX that the movement for Italian unity first took that vigorous and aggressive form which brought the government of Italy from time to time into conflict with the Papacy. From the Revolution of 1848 to 1870 it was France which was the chief ally of the Church in the maintenance of its independent position and authority. It was a few years later, during the reign of the great Leo XIII, that so many questions of large importance moved toward settlement and the Papacy took a clearly defined place of leadership in the world thought of that time. The encyclical of Leo XIII entitled "Rerum Novarum" is a famous state paper which is not likely ever to be forgotten.

It has been the lot of Pope Pius XI to live through a somewhat similar period of disturbance and revolution, in thought as well as in social and political organization. Through all this Pope Pius XI bore himself with the detachment and the superb wisdom of a true leader in the field of statesmanship. He was much more than an ecclesiastic, however distinguished and however beloved. His name belongs in the list of those really great personalities who have guided, inspired and cheered world opinion by their interpretations and their appeals.

The personal charm of Pope Pius XI touched everyone to whom he gave audience. His alert and far-seeing mind, his power of phrase and his quiet humor were all characteristic of a lofty and well-balanced personality.

Pope Pius XI rendered great service not only to the Church but to all mankind and in every relationship of life. He will be recorded among the truly outstanding Popes and also among the most honored statesmen of Europe.

The Pope was a true philosopher of peace. On the occasion of my last audience, some five years ago, His Holiness uttered a sentence which ought to pass into the world's literature and be carved in a hundred places where laws are made and public policies formulated. He said this: "La guerre est la chasse de l'homme à l'homme pour tuer l'homme." What words could more perfectly define war?

It will always be a happy memory that His Holiness sent me his benediction on last Christmas Day.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
President, Columbia University.

THE PEOPLES of the world need rallying points to give them a feeling of stability. Some of the present dominating figures seem self-centered and treading close to the borderlands of war and uncertainty. Pope Pius XI had those qualities of faith, simplicity and unselfishness so much needed by human beings if they are to get the sense of being anchored again to the best in the history of the race. The Catholic Church is one of the great and dependable realities to which hundreds of millions can turn with confidence and hope. Pope Pius XI was a great leader of men. He knew that spiritual values weigh heavier with men than many of them admit, and that in the long run those qualities of the spirit that have made us rise above the beasts are of vastly greater significance than the apparent issues of the day.

We have lost a world figure who was able to let us see the man we admired through all of the forms and customs surrounding the head of the Cathloic Church. A great Pope and a leader in the human problems of the period has gone to join a long line of significant figures whose part in the records we are making has been of transcendent importance.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR,
President, Stanford University.

MUCH of the early life of Pope Pius XI was spent in the scholarly world of ecclesiastical books and manuscripts in the quest of truth. There his genial humanism was attracted by the Hebrew tradition out of which had sprung the Church founded by Peter. But in his later years when he was Pope he was destined to see the growth of new teachings of left-wing radicalism waging a violent campaign against God and religion, and right-wing radicalism in which the Jewish Bible, his Old Testament, was condemned in obscene terms. He saw vials of corroding hatred poured out against the people which had given birth to his Saviour, and he heard the religion in which Jesus, Mary, Peter and the Apostles had grown up, declared to be either an opiate of the masses, or a dire menace to the Aryan spirit.

He did not remain silent. In phrases which will ring down the corridor of time, he declared, "Anti-Semitism is a movement in which we cannot, as Christians, have any part whatsoever. . . . No, it is not possible for Christians to participate in anti-Semitism. . . . Anti-Semitism is inadmissable. Spiritually we are Semites."

The Jewish people has not forgotten and will never forget this declaration, nor his forthright and courageous stand against the introduction of Germany's cruel racialism into Italian life. He declared, "We regard racism and exaggerated

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nationalism as barriers raised between man and man, between people and people, between nation and nation. . . . All men are, above all, members of the same great kind. They all belong to the single great family of the living. Humankind is therefore a single, universal, catholic race."

He knew, for he had had many contacts with learned Jews, that there was no ill-feeling between Italian Catholics and Italian Jews. He knew, for he was a student of history, that Jews had lived continuously in Rome for more than nineteen centuries under the protection of the Popes, and in Italy since even before the beginning of the Christian era. He condemned the utter denial of his Church's teachings of the oneness of mankind under God involved in robbing Jews of old Italian lineage of their human rights, and robbing newer Italian Jews of their citizenship, and decreeing their expulsion. The voice of the Pope, championing the oppressed, spoke for the 350 millions of the Roman Catholic Church.

As the Jew looks back over the leaden-footed centuries, he sees much suffering over which he would gladly draw the veil of oblivion. But he also recalls countless instances when priests, bishops, archbishops, cardinals and Popes extended the arm of protection over the Jew. He recalls numerous papal bulls freeing the Jews from charges which fanatic ignorance brought against them, and he recalls efforts of the Vatican to protect helpless Jews from the rapacity and blood lust of the mob. With a deep and abiding gratitude the Jew places in this line of noble priestly champions of humanity the name of Pope Pius XI.

In a world distracted by doubt, fear and hatred, a world which seems to be losing its moorings and to be adrift without standards and without the lodestone of religion to point the way to light in the darkness, the serene and beautiful influence of the beloved Pope who has been called to his rest remains an abiding treasure of the human spirit, and of all who are not children of the Roman Catholic Church, none mourn the death of Pope Pius XI with more sincerity and with a deeper sense of grief than do the Jews of the world.

RABBI D. DE SOLA POOL,
President, Synagogue Council of America.

The Pope of the People

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

AS I STOOD on the steps of St. Peter's last year, the ancient Roman street leading up to the basilica was being torn down and widened. It seems to me nothing could symbolize better the inner character of the reign of Pope Pius. For to the very gate of the Church there have come in our time great movements of destruction and change. They have been given power to tear down the old, and to erect rather hectically something that seemed to them better, or at least appeared to be a proof of their restless craving for the new. But, perhaps (who knows?), the final effect of what they are doing may only serve to widen the approach that leads to the immemorial, the unchanging, Church.

When the eleventh Pius went out into the *loggia* of his cathedral and blessed the world, he expressed the confident hope that in his time the Church was to enter with renewed enthusiasm into the life of mankind. By temperament a man indifferent to mere precedents and averse to sanctifying cobwebs, he found himself Pope in an age that seemed big with courage and desire. Men appeared to feel that at length, in the wake of a destructive universal war, they could proceed to realize dreams fostered long since in the deepest thought of Christianity. The outlawry of war, the growth of a better understanding among peoples, the solution of baffling economic problems which had caused so much partizan fighting—these things and more besides were to be brought about by utilizing the moral earnestness of survivors who had come close to seeing the end of western civilization. The Pope himself had gone much among men. He had learned to know, in the capitals of Europe, priests of great zeal and breadth of view, some of whom he would later make cardinals of the Church. It had grown clear to him that underneath the strife and quarreling which sundered nations, there lay an untapped fountain-source of ethical conviction and religious fervor.

Therefore his earliest deeds were acts of innovation so startling in essence that we are not yet able to evluate them. He proceeded to settle the Roman question by authorizing a stroke of the pen which wiped out fifty years of accumulated bitterness. With similar directness he endorsed whatever was helpful and Christian in the social ideals of the time; and his encyclicals on peace, the labor situation, forms of government, and political ideologies are great documents in this sense above all, that they do not retreat from the facts of the twentieth century into the region of the merely abstract or ideal. They show that he wanted, sincerely wanted, to help make the world

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a better place to live in. To the conduct of the religious life he added even more of counsel and of guidance. It will take a long time to make clear all that is contained in the concept of Catholic Action, which runs so clean a knife through so many gordian knots of custom. Nor is there any of us who can even guess the future that may develop out of what he contributed to the cause of Church Union or to the deeper realization of the missionary impulse.

Yet precisely this man—who combined the vigorous peasant blood of northern Italy with a vast and fertile scholarship—was destined in the Providence of God to see a great part of the world turn away from Christianity with a fury that often suggests ancient examples of the possessed. He saw "Holy Russia," wrapped in the mantle of its sloth and its sin, no doubt, but holding nevertheless against its breast the sacred ikon of a profound and touching faith, embark on a social experiment that combined a quest for absolute justice with a thirst for ostracizing God. Mexico cried out to him from beside the altars of its despoiled churches and the bodies of its martyrs. Spain became the scene of fearful destruction, not of burning cities merely but of private holocausts too fearful even to contemplate. In Germany a fantastic new Caesar arose, bent on reeling off once again, in a still more harrowing version, the film of 1914, if the goal were clearly the triumph of the Aryan race. In far-off China, prosperous mission fields were racked with war and rape, bringing before the eyes of Sisters of Charity scenes that not charity itself could change. Even in his own Italy the Pontiff beheld deeds which must have reminded him often of beleaguered predecessors going forlorn among the battle-flags and the endless poor.

In all this panorama of violence and disorder, of faithlessness and persecution, there was hidden something more awful than rapine. An ancient legend tells of a hermit who saw in his vision a host of camels writhing in death inflicted by swarms of almost invisible venomous insects. He saw the great animals dash themselves to death in fury, one against the other; he heard the ghastly clamor that rose on the desert night air. But then he saw the meaning of his vision, and it was more horrible than that—men dying in the spirit not by reason of their wrestling with passions and lusts, but because there had filtered into their souls poisons which they had not so much as seen. And of Pius XI it must be said, gratefully and sorrowfully, that to him there was given the bitter cup of such a scene. Out of old literatures and new philosophies, along the devious routes of tendencies hardly discerned, there crept a doctrine the mysterious power of which could deceive even the elect.

And again the man to whose greatness one bows, realizing that to succor it there was given a draught of Divine comfort, saw clearly—more clearly than any of the rest of us can—what medicines were needed. It would not do to have recourse to the treasury of grace in a passive sense alone. The old fear of the Apostle lest he might, hardly knowing, eat and drink unworthily had come once again to haunt mankind. What was needed was a clear profession, a vigorous but still prudent reassertion, of the unalterable Testament. And so the Pontiff who had gone out into the world boldly proved himself also capable of retreating from it. He made us all see a little of what he saw—that the supreme temptation of the time is to sunder Catholicism from Christianity; that the Divine authority over the human conscience cannot be delegated to any earthly power anxious to mold the character of the citizen; and that the supreme ethical postulate is and must always be freedom. There were times when these things seemed to hang by a thread—when even many Catholics felt that for the sake of "social order" one could make an alliance with the enemies of the deepest essence of the Christian faith. It took a great deal of personal courage to point out the errors in the doctrine of l'Action Française, to proclaim the inner corruption of the Nazi creed in the encyclical "Mit brennender Sorge," and to resist within Italy itself the perfidy of a new racist gospel.

Therewith the systole and diastole in the age-old history of the See of Peter were made plain anew. The Church had gone out into the world like a friend; and it went again into hiding, the perennial enemy of the pride of men. But the seal was placed anew on its covenant with the Spirit of God. This Pope, who was so eager to add new names to the roster of saints, will be remembered in history as the Pontiff of an age of saints. And these are they who, in a dozen sorely tried lands, kept their faith and his to the end. Among them are the martyrs of the Church in Spain and Mexico, the victims of Hitler's concentration camps and pogroms, and the lonely worshipers of the Russian East. Thousands have laid down their lives, without rancor and for no merely human cause. The mystery of their sacrifice is of the same texture as their Pope's insight. The terrible austerity of their repose is the only sign we need that the foundations of humanity do not move.

The world has laid him to rest with them. Silence has come once more into the rooms of the Vatican, and the music of the long requiem eddies round the two-thousand-year-old graves of the Apostles. Remembering that the glory of this world passes, even as a candle's flame is soon merged in the darkness, we think of the silence that hushes a great voice and of the end of one man's kindness. There is a strange solemnity

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about the coda that brings to a close a singularly good life; and it is well we should listen to it quietly, and not think of too many personal, human things to say.

And yet it seems to me that we should remember one thing about the man, which is independent of his office and apart from the stirring times in which he lived. That is the deep, singular, almost old-fashioned courtesy of his mind. "I am a man, and everything human interests me," he might have said. Few Pontiffs ever have quoted with such distinguished simplicity the great poets of their race. Every writer must have got a little thrill when Pope Pius cited Manzoni. And what scientist could have failed to respond to one who often seemed to concentrate his attention on the question of religion's relations with the sciences, and who was certain that every modern invention could serve the cause of Christ? It is doubtful whether he ever listened to anyone with greater pleasure than to Marconi; and though political tension in Europe has necessarily curtailed the use of the Vatican radio station, that none the less remains a tribute to resolution with which he faced the problem of propaganda. Books and libraries were, of course, "pet hobbies," since the Pope himself had been a librarian. Yet one has an especial fondness for the crisp, intimate discourses spoken to "honeymoon pilgrims," which show that like the great majority of priests in his native region he was first of all a pastor, anxious to guide aright young families and future citizens.

I have emphasized this quality of intellectual courtesy, which is entirely compatible with firm and vigorously expressed convictions, because nothing else reveals so well the inner character of Catholic culture. The age in which the Pope lived came to be, with quite startling suddenness, the period of hatred and bias almost unparalleled —the era of frantic boasts and more than foolish words, of reckless charges and counter-charges, and of "evidence" that violates every canon of truth. But from the beginning of Christianity there has existed no doubt that truth is the supreme analogy by which we rise to the perception of Divine truth, and that therefore every shred and scrap of obtainable verity is a sacred thing. And quite similarly there underlies the other Christian mandate of charity another analogy of method—the course of charitable conduct is the line of spiritual beauty, of harmony between human action and the Divine command, which reveals at every point the ineffable radiance of Eternal Loveliness. To us all the dead Pontiff left the bequest of an example in which truth and charity were mingled in the sense of our tradition.

That is why the world which is not Catholic respected him so deeply. It may not always have endorsed his conduct in matters of policy, or surmised the ultimate objectives to which his thought was directed. But it realized that in him there was not only represented the "power that makes for righteousness," but also the force that has been accumulated by centuries of human living in the spirit of Christian culture. And accordingly one may well believe that no missionary he sent out to any distant post, or any enterprise of preaching to which he gave form and benediction, wielded even nearly so convincing an influence as did his own example. There are many thousands of good men and women outside our communion who feel that in him the people of the world have lost a great, disinterested friend. Among the wreaths laid at his grave will be numberless invisible ones from the poor of all creeds whom he aided in suffering persecution for justice's sake. There will be heard there the murmured thanksgiving of the one afar off, giving thanks for the greatest boon in all the world—the cup of spiritual cold water given on a parched day.

We lay our wreath there too. The course of this magazine has lain in the light of Pope Pius's teaching. It may be said without fear of exaggeration that nowhere else did men write with a deeper sense of their indebtedness to papal guidance, even when they did not quite understand to what end that guidance was leading them. Looking back, one can speak only, with a sob in one's throat, of what that has meant—of high ideals not realized in the collective life of man, of widespread defeat, and of endless human pain. But one can think also of the joy of the elect into which the Pontiff has gone, sundering the time-bound battle from the timeless victory.

Via Crucis

What riddles, Lord, what hard things darkly said!
  Too oft a stone, the heavenly bread,
When with harsh paradoxes are the hungry fed!

Here is a thing that cannot ever be:
  "Take up thy cross and follow me."
That "burden light" bewilders us with irony.

How hoist Thy cross upon this back of mine?
  "Son, did I say My cross, or thine?
The Boanerges could not drink that acrid wine.

"God, God-abandoned, I; on either side
  A thief—and one found where to hide:
Alone, in an enormous loneliness, I died.

"Social, thy pain: escape thou mayst not seek
  From drudging task, or duty bleak—
The universal lot, despite thy pangs unique.

"But secret is its solace, past all price:
  Accept thy cross, thy sacrifice,
And this day—daily—be with me in Paradise."

THEODORE MAYNARD.

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Judges Don't Just Happen

By THOMAS R. LYNCH

WE AMERICANS hold odd views in regard to some of our political offices. For instance, we are slow to believe that an alderman can be honest, or that a judge can be dishonest. Yet in any city big enough to boast or deplore the fact that it has aldermen, likely enough a coin was tossed to decide which officer of the Tenth Ward Lincoln (or Jefferson) Club would run for the City Hall job and which would contest for the Court House position.

Having a dual form of government, we have also two kinds of judges, federal and state. All of our federal judges are appointed by the President, and they are sworn in if the Senate approves. The Department of Justice, which is to say the Attorney General, himself chosen by the President and sanctioned by the Senate, is uniformly consulted regarding all judicial appointments. This Cabinet member can and should head off the seating of one who is plainly the political creditor of local politicians. Ordinarily the play begins with the United States senator of the party in power suggesting the name of the new district judge to the Attorney General. If there are two such senators, they must come to terms with each other. If there is no such senator, the party's national committeeman submits one or more names. If the vacancy is in the District of Columbia, the President may well be overwhelmed with suggestions from White House neighbors and from leaders of his party in every state. If the vacancy is in a circuit court of appeals, the party leaders of the several states in that circuit must be heard. If the vacancy is in the United States Supreme Court, the problem has probably been anticipated and the nomination will be quickly forthcoming. And this time both press and public can be depended upon to advise the Senate as to confirmation. But it will still be a political appointment. A Republican President may name a Democrat, or a Democratic President may choose a Republican. But if a Conservative President sends in the name of a Liberal, the career of the nominee may well be researched. A Liberal President is not likely to put a true Conservative in a position to destroy Liberal legislation.

The federal district courts take care of nearly all the trial work within the federal jurisdiction. There is at least one district judge in every state. Between these and the "nine old men" in the great palace at Washington are the ten circuit courts of appeal, each having several judges, and each having a territorial jurisdiction of several states. Every district judge receives a salary of $10,000 a year; every circuit judge a salary of $12,500 a year; the eight associate justices of the highest court in the land receive $20,000 each, and the Chief Justice gets an added $500.

It is not easy for a Republican administration to select federal judges in the Southern States. Except when an Al Smith is running, nearly all Southern whites vote for Democratic candidates, while very few colored people go to the polls. There is always a Republican national committeeman, though, and he does the best he can with the material he has on hand. Sometimes he foresees the need of a qualified aspirant and sends North for him. The invited guest tarries at a leading hotel, and if the incumbent judge dies on schedule, it is discovered shortly that the Yankee visitor is really a permanent resident. Sometimes the place is defaulted to a worthy, or not too hostile, Democrat. With appointments to the Supreme Court even Democratic Presidents have difficulties. President Cleveland was forced to withdraw the name of a fellow New Yorker and to substitute, for the Senate's approval, the name of one of its own members, Edward D. White of Louisiana. When President Wilson was considering Louis D. Brandeis of Boston, he was deluged with protests from leaders of the bar. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's selections to date, Black, Reed and Frankfurter, have been thoroughly discussed in the press and via radio.

Can federal district judges repay with judicial favors those who have helped them to become judges? The answer is that they can and often do. When such a judge has to appoint an officer of the court in order to maintain or operate properties in litigation, it is the most natural thing in the world for him to select a person whom he actually knows to be intelligent, industrious and faithful. In searching about, the field often narrows down to the very men who recommended the judge for the place he occupies. There is no public outcry against this practise. But it is exactly what any politician in an administrative office would do, and with exactly the same motives. The district judges also appoint the referees-in-bankruptcy. A recent congressional investigation revealed that these referees in the Southern District of California were each receiving about $25,000 a year for their services.

Of course there is no reason why a federal judge cannot disregard his "political debts," particularly if he is ambitious only to retain the place he has. Excepting only the territorial judges and those of the lower courts in the District of Co-

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lumbia, federal judges "hold their offices during good behavior . . ." (Art. III, Sec. 1, United States Constitution). Impeachment is the sole method for removing a faithless federal judge. The House of Representatives must prosecute such a proceeding; the Senate sits in trial as a court, and no conviction can be had except by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present. It is very difficult for Congress to take over such a task: it is hard for any senator to vote "guilty" when the accused is a federal judge who has been a wheel-horse in the senator's party and was confirmed by the senator's own vote. When District Judge Louderback was hailed before the Senate in 1933, forty-five members voted that the evidence adduced by the House proved him guilty, while only thirty-four voted for a "not guilty" verdict. Since the majority vote was not equal to two-thirds of the members present, the accused still graces the bench at San Francisco. More recently the lower House brought District Judge H. L. Ritter of Miami, Florida, before the Senate. According to "Who's Who in America," ex-Judge Ritter is Northern born, a Republican, and practised law in Denver from 1895 to 1925; in December, 1925, he migrated to West Palm Beach, Florida, and he donned the robe of federal judge in February, 1929. In 1931 he wrote a book, "George Washington, the Business Man." And according to the testimony before the Senate he also had time to rake in several large sums of money in addition to his all-too-inadequate salary. The Senate voted him "guilty," however, on only the last of several charges, that of having brought his court into "scandal and disrepute." And just when we were beginning to hope Southerners would quit using that ugly word, "damnyankee."

NOW, AS to the judges of the courts set up by the forty-eight states. There is an appalling number of them compared to the per capita in other civilized countries. They preside over courts of two main classes: first, trial courts; and second, courts of review or appeal which may be invoked to examine the written record of the trial court's proceedings. Originally the judges of state courts were quite uniformly appointed by the governors of their respective states. Today most of them are elected by direct vote of the people. In some states the candidate for the bench appears on the ballot under his political party's label, but in the more progressive states the judicial ballot is separate and non-partizan. Generally, however, governors still retain the authority to fill vacancies on the bench, though sometimes the approval of other state officers is required.

In the moderately peopled states, especially in those having a settled, native population, this arrangement works very well. In such places there is little danger of a governor naming a generous campaign contributor, or the son or the retained advocate of such a contributor, to the bench. Nor is there much fear that the voters may elect a plausible newcomer to judicial office, only to learn later that he left a criminal record in one or more of the places he came from. Judges in the smaller, well-established American communities ordinarily have the faults only of their several neighborhoods. They make personal and inexpensive campaigns, and do not acquire the enormous power of the court through trickery. They are not under huge, secret obligations to any persons or groups.

An incumbent judge has a great advantage, no matter where the election may be held. But in the places that are crowded with newcomers this advantage is enormous. The voter rightly reasons that it is futile to elect a new man to an office which requires high training and proven talents, when the incumbent is apparently giving satisfactory service. Partly as a consequence of this situation, the other names on the ballot are often recognized as those of lawyers who are seeking only to convince themselves, and to persuade prospective clients, that they are "as learned as judges," and who entertain no real hope of election, barring the death of the incumbents.

The salaries paid to judges of state courts vary greatly. In the corn belt there are any number of judges of courts of last resort who are paid less than is allotted to our Los Angeles municipal judges, whose jurisdiction is but little greater than that of a rural justice of the peace. Their yearly stipend of $6,500 is dwarfed, in turn, by the magnificent wages awarded to New York judges. The six associate judges of the Court of Appeals in the Empire State get salaries and expense money totaling $25,000 a year for each, with an added $500 for their chief. The up-state justices of New York's Supreme Court are paid $15,000 a year, while those serving in the metropolis get $25,000. This court has an Appellate Division whose justices are paid from $17,000 to $28,500, depending on whether they have to keep up with Fifth Avenue styles. The same sliding scale obtains in California, with the Superior Court judges of San Francisco city and county drawing $10,000 each, those of Alameda and Los Angeles counties $9,000, and those in the other fifty-five counties various lesser sums. All the New York Supreme Court justices are elected for fourteen-year terms, and these do not all expire simultaneously. Nor do those of the city magistrates of New York City, appointed by the mayor for ten-year terms at salaries of $10,000 and $12,000. There are several other courts in the big city, the salaries of the judges ranging from $10,840 to $25,000. A reform movement may capture New York City in a quick campaign; but it takes years to gain control of the courts.

Judges of state courts sometimes maintain lobbies at the sessions of the state's law-making

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bodies for the purpose of gaining salary increases. This puts the practising lawyer who is also a legislator in a tough spot. The pay of law-makers is often penurious; generous New York can afford only $2,500 a year. When confronted with a bill increasing the salaries of judges, the lawyer-legislator usually votes in favor of his law practice, even though his vote may imperil his career as a Solon.

IT IS in the large cities and in the states which have acquired hundreds of thousands of new voters during the present century, and where relatively few citizens can possibly know anything about the candidates, that the cry is arising: "Take the judges out of politics!" And this crusade is often in bad faith. For it cannot be successful. The judges must be selected by some person or persons, and if you take the task away from the larger group and hand it over to a few "experts" or state officials, you force the would-be judge to indulge in a wire-pulling, back-stairs campaign from which he can emerge victorious only after incurring a mass of secret obligations.

When lawyer Jones becomes Judge Jones as the result of an open election, we who know our way around may clearly see that he won the place as the result of a "build-up" by some newspaper publisher covering a period of many months. If the publisher is not in his dotage, or promoting one candidate to spite another, we know that his ink must be paid for either with cash or on a contingent basis after the candidate is seated. Or perhaps lawyer Jones was picked by some real or fictitious "citizens' club" to broadcast a weekly radio message on "How Our Courts Function," "We Americans Are Proud of Our Courts," etc. Judge Jones mounts the bench surrounded by flowers and flattery; but he has debts to pay, and they must be settled somehow. But the average citizen will think that Jones got the most votes because he was the best qualified candidate; and the Judge himself will incline to the same notion. Though he may have moments of doubt when he finds that the editor so friendly heretofore has deserted to another promising candidate.

Most states have no way of removing a "fallen" judge except the involved and onerous method of impeachment. A few states have applied the recall expedient to the bench, nor can it be said that this has resulted in any great threat to honest judges. On the whole it has had a salutary effect and has not been abused. Many people run to a judge's chambers with their political grievances, just as they would gossip over like matters with a congressman. If the judge is not cautious he may get the reputation of being a politician and a "fixer." Recently a judge of a California appeals court was convicted in a federal court of the crime of "obstructing justice." He was accused of selling his influence to save other persons from prosecution. The federal circuit court affirmed the sentence of the trial court, and the United States Supreme Court has refused to disturb that ruling.

During most any campaign to elect a governor, a smart local party-worker can tell you in advance which lawyers will be named to fill vacancies on the bench. The late Governor Rolph of California, in making an appointment to the municipal court of Los Angeles, was quoted by the press to this effect: "I have chosen an excellent young man of Italian blood. Some years ago the Italian government honored me with a decoration, and I take this means to prove my appreciation." Many a governor has chosen judges from similar motives, though few have been so frank about it. Failing of reelection last November, Governor Merriam of California named one of his private secretaries to the superior bench of Alameda County. At once a cloud of rumors began to swarm around the new judge. The other occupants of that bench refused to assign any cases to him. He resigned as the grand jury began to grind.

Judges don't just happen, nor are they wafted down from heaven. They are of this earth; they are most often ambitious humans, wise in the knowledge of how to advance themselves under a political system that developed in colonial and rural America. There is no slick device for improving on that system. But even in the "old settlements" our people should be as watchful and suspicious of their judges as they are of other public officers. The newspapers should look behind the governor's appointments and furnish their readers with sharp analyses of the considerations which bring about such appointments. Instead of giving their readers leggy photos of female witnesses, let the big dailies assign a retired lawyer to observe every important case wherein the judge may be subject either to mob pressure or political obligations. Let the public learn all about "contempt of court." Competing editors should torpedo one another's ballyhoo for budding judges.

No possible good can come from strengthening the dominance which the courts, in our own times, have acquired over the other departments of government; nothing but harm can proceed from a deification of judges, although a reasonable public confidence in its courts is, of course, essential to the continuance of civilized society, and is by and large amply justified by the history of our courts.

Discovery

("Aid to Peace in Birth Control"—New York Times Headline, January 20.)

Friends of Human Progress, give a cheer!
Let's screw this bulb in Wisdom's chandelier,
And spread afar new scientific light.
To wit: If man's not born he cannot fight.

JOHN BRACKEN.

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Radio and Free Speech

By EDWARD J. HEFFRON

THE SUBJECT of freedom of speech on the radio is coming in for a lot of attention these days, but, unfortunately, there is very little fundamental thinking in regard to it. It is probably only natural for people to believe that free speech is free speech, regardless of the medium used, and that consequently the doctrine of freedom with respect to speech generally should be applied to speech on the air.

First of all, let us get clear on the basic principle. The doctrine of liberalism taught that men should be individually free in every respect, provided only they did not criminally violate the peace of society: free to say what they pleased, free to print what they pleased, free to engage in business or not, free to hire and fire, free to pay employees much or little, free to charge what they liked, free to quit if their terms of employment weren't satisfactory (a sorry freedom, in practise), etc. The only theoretical governor on this unrestrained freedom was competition — called, with respect to freedom of speech and freedom of press, "the clash of ideas." The only subsequent remedy available to an aggrieved person was an action for damages.

But it was soon found that some modifications of this doctrine were necessary. Not everyone in the community could be free to start a street railway company, for example, because there weren't enough streets to go around; so some governor other than competition had to be devised in order to protect the interests of the public. Hence Public Utility Commissions were set up to grant franchises and regulate such business. The courts eventually found that there were other businesses (e.g., grain elevator companies), which, while they did not depend for their existence on the use of public property (such as the streets) were nevertheless so impressed with a public interest as to be answerable to the public and hence not free to follow the vagaries of competition. They, too, came under regulation.

Do newspapers come within this class? Obviously they do not, under the First Amendment to the Constitution. But even apart from that amendment, there is no reason why they should; for theoretically everyone is free to publish his own newspaper. If none of the newspapers in a given city is serving the public interest, convenience and necessity, the public has its own remedy: it can start a new newspaper, a thousand new newspapers if it wants. The distinctive difference, in this respect, between the newspaper and the street railway is obvious.

But there is also a constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech. And the question is whether this includes freedom of speech on the radio. I think it can be fairly maintained that it does not necessarily include freedom of speech on the air since the radio had, at the time of the adoption of the First Amendment, not been invented. And in Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution the Congress is given control over interstate commerce—radio being clearly, and by judicial decision [United States v. American Bond & Mortgage Co., 31 F (2d) 448], a question of interstate commerce. So, I maintain, radio is free to be fitted into the category of public utilities subject to federal regulation or of those businesses that are said by the Courts to be "impressed with a public interest," the First Amendment to the Constitution notwithstanding.

The further question is, should it fit into this category? I contend that it not only should, but does and must. It must, I say, because it is so like the case of street railways. A private street railway company (or a few of them) is permitted, under an exclusive franchise, to make a profit out of the use of the publicly owned streets; a private broadcasting company (or a few of them) is also permitted, under an exclusive license, to make a profit out of the use of the publicly owned radio frequencies. A theoretically unlimited number of street railway companies in any given city, necessary to working out of the doctrine of free competition (which would, in the absence of regulation, be essential to protection of the public interest) is physically impossible; a theoretically unlimited number of radio stations in any given city, necessary, too, to working out of the doctrine of free competition (which would also, in the absence of regulation, be essential to protection of the public interest), is likewise physically impossible. There aren't enough frequencies. So the same safeguards of the interest of the public must be set up in the case of radio as in the case of public utilities like street railway companies.

The Public Utilities Commissions must regulate the rates and service of the street railway companies; the Federal Communications Commission does not yet regulate the rates of broadcasting companies but it must regulate their service. I say it must regulate their service because if it did not the public would be left unprotected: the broadcasting companies would be free to sell all their time for commercial broadcasts to the almost complete disregard of religious, educational and cultural broadcasts. This might conceivably result

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in limiting radio broadcasts almost entirely to "mass appeal" programs, ignoring the interests and welfare of all minorities.

There is the further consideration, in the words of a recent editorial in the New York *Times:*

> The government, so to speak, by the physical necessities of the case, grants each station a monopoly of some particular air channel. It necessarily selects from among applicants. . . . It can properly make this selection only on grounds of public policy. *But because it makes such a selection and grants such a monopoly at all it must assume certain responsibilities regarding radio stations—and what they broadcast*—that it does not assume toward ordinary publications or the unbroadcast utterances of individuals [italics added].

Radio, therefore, must at least come within the category of businesses impressed with a public interest. And it does. Prior to 1931 the Reverend Bob Shuler was enjoying his right to freedom of speech to the fullest, and attacking the Catholic Church and various officials and citizens of Los Angeles to his heart's content, through the facilities of his station, KGEF. If freedom of speech on the radio were the same as freedom of speech generally he should have been protected in his right to do this; and the only remedy available to those offended should have been actions for slander. But the then Federal Radio Commission (now the Federal Communications Commission) deleted his license for this very reason; and when he appealed to the only court to which such an appeal could be made, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, the court upheld the action of the commission and said:

> If it be considered that one in possession of a permit to broadcast in interstate commerce may, without let or hindrance from any source, use these facilities, reaching out, as they do, from one corner of the country to the other, to obstruct the administration of justice, offend the religious susceptibilities of thousands, inspire political distrust and civic discord, or offend youth and innocence by the free use of words suggestive of sexual immorality, and be answerable for slander only at the instance of the one offended, then this great science, instead of a boon, will become a scourge, and the nation a theatre for the display of individual passions and the collision of personal interests [Trinity Methodist Church, South v. Federal Radio Commission, 62 F(2d) 850].

While the Federal Communications Commission is expressly denied the power of censorship over the radio communications transmitted by any station, it is bound, by the same law (Communications Act of 1934) to see that all licensees subserve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." That it is dangerous to entrust such authority to a public commission—"a body of political appointees," as a recent writer terms them—is clear; but it is equally obvious that it must be entrusted somewhere. If one urges that the Federal Communications Commission should be elective, one has, for all I know, a point; but I should think it would require a constitutional amendment. And anyway, the highest tribunal of all, the Supreme Court of the United States, is in the same sense "a body of political appointees"—for the members of the Federal Communications Commission are appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the elected representatives of the people, the Senate of the United States, just as are the members of the Supreme Bench; and if the latter hold office for life that only makes them, it might be said, that much less responsive to the will of the people.

THE SUGGESTION made by some writers on the subject, who have a greater love of freedom of speech than they have knowledge of the nature of radio, that it should be as impossible to think of a licensed radio as it is to think of a licensed press, seems to me to be entirely awry of the facts—and I hope I have shown that. If I have not I can only refer interested readers to what happened in 1926 when the Radio Act of 1912 (Public Law No. 264) broke down; that is, when the courts held that, under that law the Secretary of Commerce (there was no radio commission prior to 1927) had no power to reject applications for authority to engage in radio communication. In the words of the eminent authority on radio law, Louis G. Caldwell:

> During the eight months which intervened before the passage of the Radio Act of 1927 the number of broadcasting stations, which was already grossly excessive, leaped by nearly 200 to a total of 732, several hundred in excess of what could then be comfortably accommodated if the interests of the listening public were to be preserved.

And, no doubt, if the licensing feature of the Radio Act of 1927 had not come along when it did, there would have been many more stations starting operation.

If the number of radio stations is limited, and if their service is directed to the public interest, convenience and necessity, the public is enabled to enjoy, as it should, the fruits of its ownership of the radio frequencies. If the licensing system were to be abolished and the number of stations were to be unlimited, the public would get, as the fruits of its very valuable property, the radio frequencies, just what it got in some parts of the country, in 1926; that is, virtually nothing but heterodyne interference, cross-talk and blanketing. And if the service of even a limited number of stations were not directed to the public interest, convenience and necessity, the public would get practically nothing but "mass appeal" programs: cheap humor, melodrama, "true stories" and swing music. The present system of regulation would seem, therefore, to have certain worthwhile advantages over an absence of regulation.

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If one thinks that the Congress should provide the commission with more explicit directions, I do not suppose that the commission would object. If it were to be provided, for example, that a certain minimum percentage of the broadcasting time of each station must be allotted to religion, another certain minimum percentage to education (including public affairs, politics and social questions), another certain minimum percentage to news, another certain minimum percentage to cultural programs (good music, opera, drama, etc.), leaving the balance to entertainment and miscellany, I do not see how there could be any objection to it on theoretical grounds. But the difficulty in classifying a large percentage of programs (e.g., the Catholic Hour is, at once, religious, educational, and—I hope—cultural) leaves so much to the judgment of the individual broadcaster as to have accomplished practically nothing by such legislation.

The theory of our present system, as I understand it, is not that the Federal Communications Commission shall, in the last analysis, determine what is the "public interest, convenience and necessity," but that the public shall. The commission, as a matter of fact, customarily grants license renewals without a hearing. It is usually only when the public—that is, the particular station's public, the people or some of them in its listening area—object, that hearings are held. And if the public shows that its "interest, convenience and necessity" have not been served the commission is supposed, as I understand it, to pay heed. Nor have those who have recently been attacking the commission suggested any case in which this has not been done. In fact, on the basis of familiar cases, I think the few Catholic writers who have been joining in this attack would find themselves in an unpleasant position. They would be obliged, on the basis of their expressed principles—that is, that speech should be as free on the radio as it is generally—to condemn the Shuler decision, and to defend not only the objectionable Shuler broadcasts, but the offensive Rutherford broadcasts, the birth control broadcasts featured at one time on Station WEVD, the viciously anti-Catholic broadcasts of a few years ago by Franklin Ford, etc.

That the commission should pay heed to what the public says serves its "interest, convenience and necessity," does not mean, of course, nor should it mean, that the will of a majority should be permitted to override and disregard the will of a minority—and that is where, I suppose, these critics find vulnerability in the discretion of the commission. That our present procedure will stand improvement, I have no doubt; but that it is decidedly better than the withdrawal of all restrictions on freedom of speech on the radio—adoption, in other words, of a policy of "anything goes"—seems to me to be beyond question.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

I AM WRITING this column as best I may in the midst of all the flurry and fuss of packing bags (and hunting a lost passport!) as I prepare at less than twenty-four hours' notice to catch a boat tomorrow to sail for Rome on a newspaper assignment to aid in the reporting of no less an event than the election and enthronement of a new Pope for Christendom. It is a strange, almost uncanny experience, because it duplicates (with many differences) an almost identical adventure just seventeen years ago, in 1922, when I was dispatched at equally short notice on the same errand. Then, Pope Benedict XV, the Pontiff of the World War, had just died; now his great successor, Pius XI, the Pope of Peace, lies dead in the Sistine Chapel—the clouds of a possible second world war brooding over the world—and again a successor in the long line of the Vicars of Christ stretching back to Peter the Fisherman is to be chosen. And once more the men of the press are hastening from many parts of the world to join those of their craft already on the scene to do their best to report and interpret the momentous events that will be unfolded during these next few weeks in Vatican City.

Of course, at the very best, only a partial job of reporting will be possible, for the secret conclave of the College of Cardinals of Holy Mother the Church is really secret; and deeper and less recordable even than the silence of the Princes of Christendom, sealed with the vow of secrecy, will be the operation of that guiding Spirit promised to the Church in the beginning by her Founder, the ineffable working of the Holy Ghost. Nor is it likely that the efforts of the press to interpret what they learn, or surmise, of what will go on within the Sistine Chapel during the conclave—or of the gossip and guessing in the great whispering gallery which all Rome, within and outside Vatican City, becomes on an occasion like this—will be overly successful and reliable. However, all the world is eager to learn all that its press can report to it, and to understand as thoroughly as the press interpretations can aid it to understand the significance of the things reported.

It was so, in 1922, seventeen years ago; but much greater, I believe, is the world's interest, and the world's concern, today. Something utterly unforeseen in 1922 by the world (but not by the Church: for the Church, through Leo XIII, and all his successors had warned the world, but without avail) has happened since then, and the peoples of the earth are now confronted with an evil even worse than war. Now they face the ever-growing force of the world revolution of the new paganism, expressing itself outwardly in the various and increasing forms of the totalitarian state, moved inwardly by the spirits of materialism and organized atheism and idolatrous racialism and imperialistic nationalism, spreading, and coalescing, and threatening to overrun and vanquish utterly what is still

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left of the free peoples, and the institutions of liberty, and the culture of Christendom.

And since 1922, since that day, February 6, when Pius XI left the "prison of the Vatican," in the hour of his election, and in the open air, from the balcony of St. Peter's, gave his benediction, and his leadership, not only to his sacred city, but to the city and the world, that world has come to know that the world-wide, the universal, Catholic Church—super-national, super-racial, supernatural—will never, because by the very nature of its innermost being it cannot, yield to the forces of the new paganism.

Ever and everywhere, openly and freely where its branches are free and unfettered, partially yet determinedly and persistently where it is hampered or checked by secular might, secretly yet equally with permanent persistence where it has been apparently suppressed, the Church will, because that is its life, carry on its divine mission of teaching to men the truth that makes men free.

Now it waits for him who is to come to lead it forward again on that unending task. Whether his name shall be Pius, or Leo, or Benedict, or any other of the hallowed names chosen by the Vicars of Christ down the centuries, the task will not, for it cannot, change. This is the great fact about the election of a new Pope, and anybody can write it truthfully without voyaging to Italy; but how gladly I go to see, and seek the blessing of, the Holy Father that soon will be with the now sorrowing, orphaned children of the Church—the Holy Father who will claim all the children of all races and all nations as his own, because they are God's children, and he is God's Vicar on earth.

Communications

DEBTS AND RECOVERY

Providence, R. I.

TO the Editors: The suggestion is offered that our internal debt structure has nothing to do with the problem of "Debts and Recovery," by Richard Dana Skinner in THE COMMONWEAL for February 10, but that the way to recovery is in the refinancing of debts at a rate of interest of not more than two percent.

Mr. Skinner's article says, "It is an interesting and appalling fact that our debts in 1932 equaled 60 percent of our wealth, whereas in 1914 they equaled only 30 percent of our wealth!" But the fifty billions or more of all governmental debt had much to do with doubling the percentage of our debts in relation to our wealth.

But governmental debt is nothing to worry about. A very brief editorial in the New York *Times* of January 25 makes this clear. Under the caption, "Borrower's Logic," the *Times* says:

"No nation, says Mr. Eccles, 'need impoverish itself by borrowing from itself.' If it were as simple as all that, then a nation could keep on lending to itself as long as it continued to trust itself, and no nation need ever have a fiscal problem at all. Unfortunately for Mr. Eccles's logic, the people on whose account the money is borrowed and the people who lend it are not precisely the same people, while even those people who are both lenders and borrowers are almost never lenders and borrowers to the same amounts. If Mr. Eccles's simple logic were right, the answer would be equally simple; no nation can impoverish itself by beginning to pay up its debt to itself."

This editorial seems to have stopped the forensics between Senator Byrd and Mr. Eccles. Eccles is too logical. It would not do for the common people to understand the legerdemain of high finance.

The great fallacy is the belief that there can be any governmental debt; that is, that the cost of present expenditure can be transferred to the future. The same New York *Times* carried a news item, dated Minneapolis, April 18, 1917, representing the opinion of "leading instructors of economics in the United States," that "the policy of borrowing within the country itself does not shift any part of the nation's burden of war expenditure from the present to the future."

Chairman Eccles fully minimized the "burden" of our government debt when he asked, "Is it of no significance that as a nation we owe our debts to ourselves and not to a foreign country?" The answer is that there is a significance, to the extent of a full 100 percent difference between owing ourselves and owing a foreign country.

The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is logical and correct when he says that the reduction of our present government debt, by our children and children's children, "will be no more of a burden on them than was the reduction of nine billions of the war debt during the twenties."

Mr. Eccles did not say anything as to burden on the American people when we were financing the world to the extent of $10,000,000,000 during the twenties, which sum represented our payments on the war debt plus the interest.

To give evidence that the writer has some reason to discuss the question, let the first paragraph of an article entitled "The War Debt," in *America* for January 4, 1919, speak for itself:

"Our war debt can be a painful burden as long as the nation endures, or it may be as non-existent as disease is said to be to the Christian Scientist. This latter alternative does not contain the least suggestion that repudiation is to be even thought of. The bondholders lent only money to the government; they are entitled to receive pay in money only. No matter how great the amount of money the government repays to the bondholders, it need represent but a nominal cost to the people. The cost of war ceases when the government war expenditure ceases. It is not in the collection of taxes or in the floating of bonds that the cost lies, but only in the expenditure of the taxes and bonds. In the operation of collecting taxes, or money for bonds, no mater how great the amount, and then distributing the collections, there is no cost but the expense of collection and distribution. Thus the entire

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war debt can be paid, with no appreciable cost to the people. It can be, but it probably will not. The present indications are that government expenditure will be supplanted by capitalist expenditure, as represented by a 'favorable balance of trade,' approximating the amount of the war debt plus the interest. When it is understood that the war has been paid for as it was proceeded with, it will not be considered harsh treatment if the large bondholders are not permitted to inaugurate conditions under which they may realize infinitely more than they lent."

Let George E. Roberts, of the National City Bank of New York, answer the statement in the editorial of the *Times* that the people who lend and the taxpayers are not precisely the same people. In the New York *Times,* under date of November 3, 1918, Mr. Roberts is reported as follows:

"Even if they are not the same people, the capital is not lost, but is returned to the same communities. It will be there for use in industry, for investment, for the employment of labor, and all these uses of capital have equalizing, compensating influences, so that all classes will be practically reimbursed."

Of course, if we follow through with the threatened spree of renewed foreign investments, the reimbursement of our present bondholders will be a duplication of the twenties on a much more tremendous scale, with the direst results to America.

Reverting to the main contention of Mr. Skinner: It is not possible to finance growing industry without debt. It is only by borrowing new money from the banks that any interest can be paid on our entire capital structure. Industry cannot be financed from savings. Any considerable savings would indicate that industry was sufficiently developed, and then there could be no new and additional industry to be financed.

M. P. CONNERY.

AGRARIANISM

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I am hereby mounting my snow-white brewery horse and spurring to the rescue of any poor COMMONWEAL readers who may have been bludgeoned by the propaganda of Messrs. Woollen, Barry, Hynes and Lenzi in your February 10 Communications columns into believing that there is no place for an honest man to live but in Ye Olde Agrarian-Village Economie.

The conclusions of these four gentlemen, taken jointly, add up as follows: modern machine-production displaces labor and does not create new jobs; it crushes and warps the bodies and minds of men; its methods are dishonest and its products bad in quality; ergo: "Back to the land and the village smithy!"

Now this is a reasonable answer, but it is not the only answer to the problem of what-do-about-the-sins-of-industrialism.

We can safely start off with the premise that most people are not going to give up machine-made goods and services. The latter may be cheap stuff, but they *are* cheap, and my agrarian friends are painfully conscious of the difficulty of persuading themselves not to enjoy the fruits of invention.

Second: about 12,000,000 Americans are not employed by private industry. About 40,000,000 Americans are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. Is it unreasonable to conclude that a large portion, if not all, of the 12,000,000 could well be employed producing proper food, clothes and housing for the 40,000,000? It is not.

To do this we shall probably need several million more on the land. This is one sound objective of the Agrarian Movement. Another is the persuasion of American farmers to be more self-sufficient, so that they won't starve when the national economy goes hay-wire. Another is the getting of as many unemployed as possible onto the land as long as private industry is not absorbing them. But the important point is that private industry can absorb them once somebody gets around to making a proper adjustment of money, investment, wages and prices. That is the basic problem, not technology.

There has frequently been moral evil in the irresponsible displacement of men by machines, but the more damaging evils, from the employment standpoint, have been in the realms of usury, paying sub-human wages, and charging unjust prices. (On usury see Mr. Skinner's fine article on "Debt and Recovery" in same February 10 issue. But why didn't he say right out, "To charge interest where there is no increase in wealth is morally wrong"? Or am I badly informed by H. Belloc?)

If the ways and products of industrialism are bad and dishonest, as Mr. Barry demonstrates re mailing houses, surely these can be corrected without "fleeing to the fields." And nobody maintains that hand-made goods and services aren't better and shouldn't be available for those who can afford them.

A more difficult problem is that presented by Messrs. Woollen and Hynes: how to prevent the warping of men's minds and bodies by the machine and its destruction of creative, enjoyable work?

Correctives here are direct and indirect. Direct: monotonous operations must be either broken down or rotated among different workers. There is no reason to believe that in the long run greater efficiency would not result. The "speed-up" must be slowed down to human pace. In general, human dignity must be everywhere the criterion of proper production. Indirect: the workers should be given a creative interest in their jobs through partnership in management, profits or ownership. This is the proposal of Pope Pius XI and Jacques Maritain.

In short, the essential reform is both agrarian and industrial. We must bend brain and sinew to developing and educating our farmers, trade unionists, politicians and capitalists to the necessity of building a Christian economy of producer cooperatives and occupational groups—a genuine industrial democracy that can concentrate intelligence and will on a sensible solution of the problems presented by Messrs. Woollen, Barry, Hynes and Lenzi.

In all this Agrarianism plays an important part, but for Heaven's sake, don't hog the roost!

JOHN C. CORT.

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Points & Lines

Executive Council of A.F.L. Executes

THE MIAMI meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is a place where labor leaders bring all the various problems confronting the labor movement and where they discuss most of them. We will cull a few of the topics taken up which received most publicity and seem to be most vital. First of all, the Council paid a tribute to Pope Pius XI, at his death:

> The executive council was shocked and deeply grieved by the sudden passing of Pope Pius XI. It joins with all our people—regardless of faith or of religious affiliations—in expressing deep sorrow for the loss of this great religious and spiritual leader.
>
> Pope Pius was not alone the leader of the Catholic world; he was likewise a great champion for and defender of the rights, liberties, welfare and well-being of the wage earners the world over. His life's work for humanity, for peace, for democracy, for relief to the suffering and oppressed will long be remembered by all classes and by none more than by the working people. His death is a great loss and is received by labor in America in terms of deepest sympathy.

The great problem of accommodations with the CIO found no solution in Florida. *Newsweek* notices this lack:

> The executive council's announced actions for the week indicated little is being accomplished so far on the biggest problem confronting it—a demand for peace overtures to the CIO hanging over from the Houston convention. The textile drive, which soon will bring organization of an eastern council, threatens to become the bitterest CIO-AFL battle—and the Lewis group, furthermore, opposes any Wagner Act changes. Daniel J. Tobin's convention threat to pull his 309,200 teamsters out of AFL unless peace efforts are made, however, is forcing the council to tone down its previous stand against reconciliation.

The New York *Herald Tribune* reported:

> For the third day in succession Mr. Green declined to make public what he had told the council in regard to developments since last October in various plans to try to get the AFL and CIO leaders together in peace conferences. Today at his press conference Mr. Green was asked whether he would respond if President Roosevelt called upon him to enter a peace conference with the CIO. He replied that he "would answer that when it happens."

A later New York *Times* report quotes President Green of the AFL:

> "It appears that the state of mind favoring peace has improved," he went on. "That is reflected in the general statements of leaders on both sides and by declarations in local unions of the AFL and the CIO.
>
> "In my opinion the state of mind favoring peace has grown more rapidly among the CIO rank and file than in that of the AFL. The pressure on the leaders of the CIO to attempt to negotiate a settlement has become very great."
>
> Before peace could be made the CIO must withdraw its "ultimatum" that all its affiliates must receive charters in the AFL at the same time, he said. There could not be two unions in the same field, and some means must be worked out whereby the rival organizations could be blended, he insisted.

But as things are going, dual unionism is actually coming on apace. The Progressive Miners of America is a competitor in the field of John L. Lewis's own United Mine Workers. The situation of the United Automobile Workers is described thus in the *Christian Science Monitor:*

> The AFL Council is "speculating" on the possibilities that Homer Martin and his anti-CIO faction in the automobile industry will not be able to maintain an independent union status after splitting off from the CIO's United Auto Workers Union. If the Martinites failed to maintain an independent union in competition with CIO their alternative would be affiliation with the AFL. Mr. Green said no overtures had been received from the Martin groups for an AFL charter.

Louis Stark writes for the New York *Times:*

> The time for the Martin-AFL negotiations, however, is not yet ripe, some officials here say. The convention of Martin adherents on March 4 will play an important part in the situation. While Mr. Green's information is that Mr. Martin will outrank his rivals, who are endorsed by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, he (Mr. Green) gave no indications as to what the federation's attitude would be if Mr. Martin's convention proved a failure. In that event, the AFL strategy may be different.

A dual union situation is developing in the textile field too. The Textile Workers Organizing Committee is a CIO organization which has included within itself the United Textile Workers Union, formerly an AFL affiliate. The old president of the U.T.W., however, has just broken from the CIO and he brought the old union back into the AFL fold at Miami. *Newsweek* reports:

> The council jubilantly welcomed home the first of the original CIO unions to return to the fold—the United Textile Workers. Francis J. Gorman, textile leader who disagreed with the CIO's Textile Workers Organizing Committee, brought back the U.T.W.'s name and a still to be ascertained number of followers among T.W.O.C.'s 450,000 members.

Business Week noted the changed status of Francis J. Gorman in the hearts of AFL leaders:

> Waiting for the inevitable claims of jurisdiction, as the AFL sets up local councils to fight the already strong CIO councils, observers were amusing themselves by checking back on testimony of an AFL stalwart, John P. Frey, before the Dies Committee last fall. At that time Gorman and U.T.W. were radical destroyers, by current AFL sentiment. "Francis Gorman," Frey said, "is the international president of this CIO affiliate, the U.T.W. . . . Gorman, it is reported, a few months ago married a Communist and for the past three years has associated himself with Communist activities to such an extent that most of his friends believe that he is a member of the party."
>
> The executive council of AFL, however, could not stop longer on the matter this week. After notifying the world of its reaffiliation with Gorman and the Gorman part of U.T.W., and confusing an already badly confused public, it turned its attention to serious discussions of how to purge its teachers' unions of Communist influence.

The executive council is fighting for changes in the Wagner Act as submitted by Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts. The official statement reads:

> These amendments, grouped in an omnibus bill, have one main objective—to guarantee fair and equitable administration of the law by the National Labor Relations Board. They propose:
>
> 1. To make it obligatory on the board to respect the right of craft unions to decide for themselves by majority vote who their bargaining representative shall be.

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2. To curtail the assumed power of the board to invalidate legal contracts between employers and labor organization.

3. To correct the board's procedure so that all parties affected by any case will be given due notice, accorded a fair hearing, protected against abuses of discretion and assured of adequate judicial review of wrongful decrees.

Mr. Green said the AFL was completely opposed to additional amendments suggested by Senator Burke of Nebraska, and those offered by the Chamber of Commerce and other employers organizations. Later, one more amendment was accepted by the council, however. According to the *Herald Tribune:*

> The amendment would change the name of the board and abolish the jobs of its members, J. Warren Madden, chairman, and Edwin S. Smith and Donald W. Smith. For months they have been under attack, particularly the two Smiths, by AFL leaders, who accuse them of being biased in favor of John L. Lewis's Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The CIO is dead set against any amendment, and the federal administration seems divided on the issue, with those in the Labor Board opposed. The *Nation* claims:

> The evolution of the AFL's attitude toward the Wagner Act shows how far events have driven them in an anti-labor course. . . . The new amendments in the Walsh bill are openly designed to protect employer interests and do not have the remotest connection with the controversy between the AFL and the CIO. . . . There will undoubtedly be further amendments in committee and from the floor, now that the AFL leaders have themselves let down the bars.

America sees no threat to labor rights in the proposals:

> The AFL, while it assuredly would not agree to any amendment weakening the right to organize and to bargain collectively, is convinced that the Act should be changed to make the possibility of abuse remote. Its quarrel is not at all with the purposes of the Act—few indeed can be found to object to these—but to the fact that the Act is so loosely worded in some respects, and that officials have taken advantage of this to rule for the CIO against the interests of the AFL. . . . Since no one in the Senate, as far as we know, opposes collective bargaining or labor's right to organize, it should not be difficult to add amendments which, while giving labor larger opportunities of exercising these rights, will also protect every right which the employer may properly claim.

The *Catholic Worker* fears a far different sort of change:

> Proponents of the change charge the act is one-sided, guaranteeing rights to labor but ignoring those of capital. What rights of capital needed proctection we do not know; certainly capital has had, up until the advent of the Wagner Act, not only all the legal advantages but the extra-legal, the power to forbid organization, the use of thugs and strikebreakers, company unions and the hundred and one devices that have in the past been used to secure capital against the just demands of labor. . . .

Japan Steps Out Again

FOR SOME weeks the Far Eastern cauldron has merely been simmering, with occasional puffs of diplomatic steam arising from the joint actions of protest of England and France and the United States. How strong is Chiang Kai-shek? Is he reduced to being the leader of "little more than a provincial régime, similar to that of the other war lords who, at one time or another after the downfall of the Chinese Empire, have ruled, for limited periods (until defeated by a rival war lord), limited portions of China" (Far Eastern Affairs Pamphlets, January, 1939)? Or is he still the leader of a strong inland nation and the hero of the Chinese in Japanese-occupied territory, who may in time effect the liberation of China? A few straws show which way the wind is blowing.

The Manchester *Guardian* reports (Reuter dispatch) that on January 30 the Kuomintang (Chinese Government party) rejected a proposal by Chinese Communists that they should be admitted to party membership:

> "We do not wish to see the existence of a dual party membership within the Kuomintang, since the revolutionary work of the Kuomintang cannot be retarded by a lack of firmness of belief on the part of members.
>
> "All Chinese, however, whatever their political affiliations, are welcome to take part in the work of resistance to Japan if they adhere to the Kuomintang principles."

Such a declaration is, of course, aimed at countering the principal allegation of Japanese propaganda, that the conquest of China is necessary in order to combat Communism.

The same newspaper recently published an interesting trade comparison for Japan between the two years 1937 and 1938. She exported more paper and foodstuffs in 1938 than in 1937; most of her other exports fell off, particularly toys. Japanese exports of cotton piece goods continued to be much greater than Britain's and were higher than in any year before 1934, though they were less than in 1934, '35, '36 and '37. Yet the percentage decrease between 1937 and 1938 was less than the similar decrease in the British cotton goods trade. Japan's exports in this commodity in 1938 were 2,180,000,000 square yards; Britain's 1,386,000,000 square yards.

Meanwhile the Japanese have been trying to set up a puppet Chinese government, with very little success. The Manchester *Guardian* again gives a very amusing account of the maneuvers:

> The more acute Japanese leaders, headed by Generals Doihara and Terauchi, at once realized that Marshal Wu was the man for them if only they could get him. Unfortunately, since 1932 Marshal Wu has lived in retirement, devoting his time to writing poetry, studying Bhuddism, and drinking. He was not absolutely opposed to emerging again as the President of a Chinese Government, but he demanded a price——an army of 200,000 men and a measure of real autonomy. Marshal Wu is not by nature a "puppet." General Doihara and the more intelligent Japanese, who realize that the Chinese can never be ruled by bayonets alone, were and still are inclined to accept his terms. The Kita-Sugiyama faction, however, does not trust Marshal Wu and does not really believe in Chinese autonomy. In view of the deadlock the Japanese fell back on a third candidate, General Chin Yun-peng, a former Shantung war lord, who is being held in reserve. In the midst of all this intrigue and wire-pulling, the departure of Wang Ching-wei from the Chinese Government raised excitement to fever-pitch. Mr. Wang, of course, would be even better than Marshal Wu for the Japanese purpose if only he could be persuaded to betray his country properly. Mr. Wang, however, is a patriot of a sort and is unlikely to accept the Japanese offers. At present, therefore, the situation remains unchanged. Marshal Wu is still a rather unwilling favorite for the post, pursued by Japanese intelligence officers who beg him to put aside his books and his bottle for the sake of the "New Asia." Mr. Wang Kehmin, blind but far-seeing, intrigues industriously for this

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dubious honor; while General Chin waits patiently in the hope that something will turn up.

At three o'clock on the morning of February 10 the Japanese acted once again by occupying the island of Hainan. The news can have meant little to most Americans. Hainan is an island about two-thirds the size of Sicily, having a population of nearly 3,000,000, separated from the extreme tip of the Chinese mainland by a strait between fifty and twenty miles wide. As the New York *Times* puts it:

> For Britain, for France, for Holland and for the United States, so long as this country is interested in the Philippines, the seizure of Hainan has great significance. Japan now stands across the sea line between Singapore and Hong Kong. Hainan lies 320 miles south of Hong Kong, 1,335 miles north of Singapore. Across the China Sea lies Manila, 800 miles away, while Japan is less than one-half the distance she formerly was from the longed-for oil and other resources of the Netherlands East Indies.
>
> There are few, if any, spots on the earth's surface that have such trenchant meaning for so many nations today. Japan has reached her farthest south thus far. And the outpost is a magnificent island of 13,000 square miles, a potential military and naval base. Much more than mere "military necessity," much more than another step toward weakening China, is involved in the acquisition of Hainan. There is fresh evidence here that conquest in Asia and conquest in Europe are parts of a single problem.

Walter Lippmann's analysis is more far-reaching, and more alarmist:

> Their action places the British and French in an ugly dilemma. If the British send enough ships to the Far East to check the Japanese advance, they will become too weak in Europe to check the Italian advance which would then, because the risks were reduced, almost certainly obtain much more active backing from Germany. And if they do not send ships to the Far East, the Japanese are in a position to establish naval control of the western Pacific, and to command the immense resources of the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Australia. Once established in this vital center of world power, the Japanese Empire cannot be dislodged without a great and exhausting war. . . .
>
> Nor is it a question of our going to war in Europe or Asia. It is a question of using our diplomatic power effectively and promptly to prevent the development of a situation which will lead either to a world war, not a European war but a world war, or to a greater Munich, in which the strategical control of the Pacific and the Atlantic is transferred from friendly and unaggressive nations to aggressive and not very friendly ones.
>
> Resolute diplomatic action, if well conceived and supported by Congress and American public opinion, can at this juncture avert both the danger of a world war and the danger of a complete overturn of our naval position in the two oceans.

Finally the Baltimore *Sun* sees reason to believe that a Japanese offensive is being prepared in the north, against Russia. It thus sums up the world situation:

> Today signs of tension are noted in the Mediterranean—Spain and Palestine; in southeastern Europe—Rumania and Hungary; and a current of nervousness runs from North Africa to the Ukraine. Germany and Italy have already provided abundant evidence that diplomatically and militarily they are prepared to further each other's aims. Japan is the third member of that triplice and one capable of exerting tremendous pressure that will serve her own and her partners' interests. The recent Hainan stroke and now the gathering of unusually large forces in a region remote from the China war naturally suggest the imminence and coincidence of new *machtpolitik* maneuvers, east and west.

The Stage & Screen

Mrs. O'Brien Entertains

"MRS. O'BRIEN ENTERTAINS" is a cartoon rather than a play, but it is an amusing cartoon. It has already been referred to as "Abbott's Irish Rose," a justifiable appellation in so far as it is a tract on the virtues of the melting-pot. But it would be more just to say that "Mrs. O'Brien Entertains" is what "Abie's Irish Rose" ought to have been. Mrs. Nichol's ineffable masterpiece was in its sentiment, or rather in the way that sentiment was expressed, false from beginning to end; Harry Madden's concoction is never false, even though it is deliberately naif. It is superficially an entertainment which might have been written in the eighteen-forties, but its ironic spirit hints that Mr. Madden is very much of today. Mr. Madden tells the story of a masculine matchmaker, who believes that the Irish shouldn't marry only the Irish, but must make America safe for democracy by taking mates from the Dutch, the Germans and the Italians. Though only living by sufferance in the house of his daughter, Mrs. O'Brien, the wife of a rich New York contractor, he fills the house with a heterogeneous collection of Irish immigrants, whom he marries off to the above-mentioned races. It is not, however, the story, which is rather contrived, that interests, but the broad strokes in which Mr. Madden has drawn his cartoons of people, and the gusto which Mr. Abbott has imparted to the proceedings with the aid of some admirable players.

First and foremost of these is Harry Shannon, for his portrayal of an Irish politician. In its rich, earthy vigor Mr. Shannon's performance is one of the delights of the season. Almost equally good is Walter Kinsella's portrait of a young Irish thief and philanderer, a figure which Sean O'Casey wouldn't be ashamed to have fathered. And Marie Brown is both humorous and charming as a little Dutch ingenue. Other excellent performances are those of James Lane, Katherine Meskil, Margaret Mullen, Maureen McManus, Robert Conrey, Gene Tierney and Paul Ballantyne. Yes, "Mrs. O'Brien Entertains" is a relief after the soul-searchings and mud-spatterings of modern "serious" drama, and the vulgarity of much modern "comedy." It is a pity, however, that one or two words employed as expletives mar an evening of otherwise unalloyed innocence and mirth. These could easily be omitted. (At the Lyceum Theatre.)

One for the Money

THIS is an intimate review, and that in itself is a relief after the colossal spectacles which are usually associated with that term. Moreover some of the sketches by Nancy Hamilton are amusing, and some of the lyrics pungent, while the settings and costumes of Raoul Pene Du Bois are a delight. It is also a pleasure to find a review dedicated to the right- rather than the left-wingers; not that there is anything deep or particularly pungent in Miss Hamilton's creations, but at least they are different. What

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the show needs is a cast of greater technical mastery and tang of personality. A Beatrice Lillie would cause it to run till the snow flies again. It has grace, charm and despite one or two moments of vulgarity, good breeding. (At the Booth Theatre.) GRENVILLE VERNON.

Cinders, Sarongs and Cold Cream

THE CINDER in Jane's eye, which led to his meeting and marrying Jane, is what Johnny falteringly talks about to his boss and later to his mother. Then there follows in "Made for Each Other," a succession of homely scenes, expertly directed by John Cromwell, and sincerely and simply acted, that are real and pathetically touching as Johnny and Jane are taught that marriage is a serious business, a partnership. The young couple could be any young couple during the first years of marriage. There are a few exaggerations: perhaps the apartment is too expensive-looking, or Johnny is too shy and stumbling in speech to be a lawyer, or the flyer's hazardous trip with the serum for the dying child is too melodramatic. Forget those faults and concentrate on Johnny when he is crushed because he thinks he's a failure, or on Jane when she is led by the nun to pray for the baby. I'll guarantee you'll want to stand up and applaud for this Selznick production of Jo Swerling's screenplay, for James Stewart who makes you perspire when he asks the boss for a raise, for Lucile Watson who plays the part of Johnny's mother with keen understanding, and for the new and different Carole Lombard who has stopped being a screwball comedienne and is convincing as the young wife.

"Honolulu" is a worn-out story of mistaken identity, pulled out of the ordinary by Eleanor Powell's swell dancing and Gracie Allen's inanities and puns. Robert Young, a movie star called "glamor pants" by his press agent, George Burns, changes places with his double, a regular guy from Honolulu, and while on vacation falls in love with Eleanor in romantic Hawaii. If you don't like Miss Powell's tap dancing and Miss Allen's wisecracks, you'd better stay home—but you'll miss Gracie's delightful singing of "Who Will Buy My Violins?"

Dorothy Lamour rebels against her manager in "St. Louis Blues" because no one recognizes her with her clothes on. That is probably why she shows up later in a potato sack and still later in a sarong. Don't blame W. C. Handy for this picture. He only wrote the song —which Maxine Sullivan sings effectively. She also swings "Loch Lomond." It's really too bad she didn't do all the singing—she and the Hall Johnson Choir. Director Raoul Walsh uses as many good photomontage effects as he can to avoid having much to do with the silly plot. Paramount ought to reward Lloyd Nolan with a good rôle next time.

If you think "Beauty for the Asking" is going to be an exposé of the beauty parlor business, you're sadly mistaken. It has a couple of ideas along these lines, but they are only skin deep and are bogged down by a ridiculous story in which Patric Knowles is such a heel that you wonder why Lucille Ball and Frieda Inescort should bother about him at all. Hint to RKO: since Miss Inescort is beautiful and does know how to act, why not put her in something worth while? PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Day

The Industrial Expansion Plan

Jobs for All, by Mordecai Ezekiel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.00.

THIS book is written to expound the industrial expansion plan which Mr. Ezekiel first proposed two years ago in a book entitled "$2,500 a Year," and which is designed to put our idle workers to producing more goods with the aid of our unused productive capacity. Very briefly, it calls for the operation in reverse of the AAA and the NRA. Those plans, after all, attempted to increase the prosperity of specific industries by reducing output and boosting prices so that the producers, for a smaller total product, would receive a larger net revenue. But all such plans taken in the large are self-defeating since it is impossible to increase the national income by decreasing each and every portion of it. To restrict production means that not only is the real flow of goods and services reduced but also that unemployment is increased.

Mr. Ezekiel aims to avoid these dangers by making it profitable for business to expand rather than contract. He would have the government call in industry, business and labor and then fix expanded production quotas for the various industries which would call for the full utilization of our productive resources of both labor and capital. In this way, a demand would be created for the increased production in a given industry by the increased output of all the other industries. People would want more housing, for example, because they could indirectly offer more clothes, more food, etc. In this way Say's law that the production of goods constitutes the real demand for goods could be made to come true in a money economy as well as in the barter economy for which it was originally framed.

In order to protect business men in specific lines against losses and to ensure that the products which they turned out would be sold, they would be guaranteed certain minimum prices which would make it worth while for them to expand. These prices would be estimated from the studies of the elasticity of demand for various commodities and of how people dispose of additional income which they receive as shown by the recent study of consumers' purchases. Any failure of actual prices to equal the guaranteed minima would be made good from funds collected from an equalization tax on products in general.

There is no doubt that Mr. Ezekiel's proposal is stimulating and that it might furnish a lever which would break the present deadlock. Before it is accepted, however, the following difficulties should be frankly faced and intelligently considered:

(1) The problem of fixing prices and production quotas for specific industries would involve a tremendous struggle since each industry would tend to want to get as high unit prices and to expand as much as possible. There would be great difficulty, therefore, in getting a balance between industries. The allocation of the total output between specific firms within an industry would also be provocative of dissension.

(2) It would also be necessary for the banking system to expand and to distribute credit adequately so that business men would have the funds with which to meet

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their costs and consumers the money with which to purchase the products. This would require the coordination of the entire financial system with the new production plan.

(3) A deeper issue is presented as to whether it is possible to retain political freedom under a system of controlled production. It is possible that if we seek to control output, prices, wages, etc., we may be led by slow steps also to control the free association and expression of citizens who may object to the plan as a whole or to details of it. If this were so, it would be a heavy price to pay and the consequences need to be weighed.

But whatever the ultimate verdict, Mr. Ezekiel has made a most stimulating suggestion which needs to be pondered by all Christians who desire both liberty and abundance.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

CRITICISM

Poets at Prayer, by Sister Mary James Power, S.S.N.D. New York: Sheed and Ward. $3.00.

THAT the poet, who may be far from sanctity himself, still shares with the saint a simplicity and sensitivity capable of piercing to the inner meaning of life, was pointed out half a century ago in Alice Meynell's essay, "The Rhythm of Life," and again quite recently in Thornton Wilder's drama, "Our Town." In fact it is one of the permanent paradoxes of literary history—which declares on one page that "all poets are a little pagan," and on another, with equal truth, that it is the poet who perceives and points out to others "through the lamp, Beauty, the light, God."

So as subject for her book Sister Mary James Power has taken one of the most delightfully challenging in the world. And if the volume does not quite make good either in its challenge or its delight, two reasons are responsible: first, its choice of poets is arbitrary and not always happy; and second, its criticism is scarcely professional, being admittedly that specialized and personalized kind of research so frequently found in "material . . . originally employed in papers presented . . . during the course of graduate study." The poets whose "attitude"—or rather attitudes—"toward religion" are here interpreted include John Hall Wheelock, Edna Millay, Elinor Wylie, John Masefield, Robinson Jeffers, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Edwin Markham, Vachel Lindsay, Robert P. T. Coffin, Alfred Noyes, T. S. Eliot, Charles Williams, Anna Hempstead Branch and Thomas S. Jones, Jr., obviously a group of very unequal merit and slight similarity of thought. And the appreciations —for Sister Mary James is eagerly appreciative and never errs on the side of uncharity—are themselves of uneven value.

In the main, those are most successful which attempt to appraise such fairly unified and simply devout natures as Vachel Lindsay, Edwin Markham, Miss Branch and Thomas Jones, or such a clear dualism of heart and head as is evident in Mr. Wheelock. But it will never do to impute stoicism or the "apathetic heart" to Elinor Wylie, who so manifestly sought in art a refuge and escape from the stress of living. And it is misleading to declare that through Edna Millay's work there is "advance," since most critics agree that there is retrogression—a loss of ecstasy which has brought with it deterioration in art. One questions, indeed, whether the author of this book quite understands the passionate implications—either unsatisfied or satiated—in the Millay poems; or whether, if she had plumbed the sinister implications of blood lust and sexual perversion as well as blasphemy in Robinson Jeffers, she would by any stretch of imagination have included him at all. T. S. Eliot, on the other hand, belongs overwhelmingly among these "poets at prayer" (although Sister Mary James's essay was evidently written before the publication of his conspicuously Catholic "Murder in the Cathedral"); as does the wistful Masefield, or the more assured Jones or Williams.

But since one convinced convert, Mr. Noyes, finds place among the many near-converts, why or how was the temptation ever resisted to include Joyce Kilmer and Gilbert Chesterton? Truly, there is a detachment which defeats its own purpose. For after all, prayer—like everything else—is most beautifully achieved by those who have cultivated it at once with love and with knowledge.

KATHERINE BRÉGY.

Segments of Southern Thought, by Edd Winfield Parks. Athens: University of Georgia Press. $3.00.

QUESTION begins at the title; and some of us have answer on tongue-tip. The only basic difference between North and South is geographic; important only to geographers. Explorative differentiations — literary, political, economic, social — expose variations of no more basic importance than, say, the different postures of gentlemen sitting at poker. The difference, for example, between New England spinner and Southern landowner is nothing essential. They have been sitting opposite each other at cards so long they should be comprehensible to all, especially to the national administrations that have walked in and out the chamber, being importuned in stage whispers by each player to slip him the ace of clubs to complete the royal flush. The opponents want the same thing, though it be cold at one side of the table, hot at the other; and neither minds barking the shins of Polish and African "waterboys" who run their legs off to pick up what paltry tips the gamesters are willing to toss.

The proposition of a Southern Literature is a sentimental offspring of contempt and pride. Mr. Parks himself observes, against the implicit trend of his book: ". . . No environment can make an artist . . . art has to do with form, with technique, with the handling of subject-mater."

Unsentimental perspective acquired, it is easier to praise Mr. Parks for the broad and engaging contacts he gives one through nearly 400 pages in seventeen obliquely connected essays embracing Southern literature, economics, customs, places and an interesting personal philosophy that is, loosely, imperfect nostalgic reaction.

Not escaping entirely the fault, common to scholarship, of carrying analytical literary comparison into elegant twaddle, Mr. Parks is more striking in narrative than in examination. He is altogether too deferential to those modern writers sometimes called the Southern Agrarian Group, who, though justly celebrated for good reasons, are celebrated for nothing else quite so much as for mutual exchange of orchids. It is remarkable that he could not edge Berry Fleming ("Siesta") into his book; more remarkable that Clifford Dowdey—if there must be a Southern Literature—was ignored, for Dowdey is probably the most emphatic among professional Southerners (no sarcasm intended), and his "Bugles Blow No More" (1937) is among the more competent literary achievements of recent times.

The acceptable phases of Mr. Parks's collection easily overwhelm the unacceptable ones—and the latter are

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provocative at least. "Segments of Southern Thought" is an auspicious beginning for the University of Georgia Press. LE GARDE S. DOUGHTY.

Humanism and Imagination, by G. R. Elliott. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. $2.50.

LIKE John Brown's soul the New Humanism goes marching on. These ten essays on a common theme are by a disciple of Irving Babbitt and P. E. More—a disciple aware of their shortcomings. Their Humanism, with its insistence on "higher will" and "inner check," tended to deteriorate into an ethical system for college professors, based on the traditional wisdom about which college professors are supposed to know. Professor Elliott wants to bridge the gap between their somewhat arid traditionalism and the traditionless wisdom and insight of Emerson by the development of what he calls a more historic, dramatic and symbolical mode of imagination.

Where his predecessors failed to give poetry its due, his Humanism provides for our "feeding unawares upon the something of eternal life mediated to us through the poetry of our lives." In addition to this, he wants us to view life as a dramatic struggle rather than as one of the manifestations of the mechanism which the nineteenth century called Nature, and to a greater awareness of the presence and meaning of our traditions. As to how we are to do this he is not very specific, except that we shall be aided by criticism to find permanence amid the transitory —a strangely unhumble ambition in a critic—and by a religion which, he says, will be such as not to clash with Humanism, "a modern Christian orthodoxy."

This disciple of Babbitt and More is also a follower of Loisy and Von Hugel, and describes himself as moving on the borders of Anglicanism. He appears to want a broadly Latitudinarian reunion of the confessions in a restatement of doctrine, but it is not always possible to tell whether he believes the Christ to be truth or . . . poetry, and he seems to shift his religious position between his fifth chapter and his last—thus justifying the statement that he is, religiously speaking, in motion. One reads more confidently his intimate chapters on the central figures of the Humanist movement—of Babbitt's fight for a noble moral ideal, of More's ultimate retreat into Episcopalianism, of Stuart Sherman's leaving his Humanism with his professorship at Illinois in favor of journalism in New York, of T. S. Eliot's learning at Babbitt's feet how to refute Babbitt. These chapters at least deserve a small place in the history of American thought.

W. M. FROHOCK.

FICTION

The Death of the Heart, by Elizabeth Bowen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THIS is a novel of human relationships, which are viewed within a limited area, a small segment of English life, but its conclusions are quite wide enough to be recognized by the thoughtful as convincing and also more than a little sad. Miss Bowen has repeatedly proved herself one of the most talented of present-day fiction writers in the Henry James tradition, a field not overcrowded just now, and while her new book may not prove to be her most popular, it is done with unfailing and unmistakable distinction.

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a clever—and cynical—young man of twenty-three, that life is inevitably a betrayal, that one way or another, all hearts die. There are indications that she means this pessimistic philosophy to apply particularly to our own times, but since she is first and last an artist, she labors no such points. She is content to bring vividly to life a group of people caught in a web of circumstances, to let us see them clearly as they are, and to make us recognize our own inescapable and embarrassing kinship with them. Thus she fulfils one of the primary functions of the novelist, and to a degree that will prove memorable.

There is an intensity about all Miss Bowen's writing which is one of its most striking qualities. That it is to be found in the present book in the face of her consistent use of ordinary characters and incidents is a noteworthy tribute to her skill as a novelist. Her strength lies in her deep and thorough understanding of people, her infallible ability to catch the most subtle, often disquieting, overtones of the present-day social scheme, and her uncanny knowledge of how much needs to be said and how much left unsaid.

Obviously, her work may be recommended without reservation only to the limited number of readers able to appreciate its special value, since it makes no concession to the popular taste. But all her books, and none has been more beautifully planned and executed than "The Death of the Heart," are of the kind that some will read and reread with keen enjoyment, not wholly based upon their fine artistry. There is, too, the pleasure of contact with so cool, sharp and unusual an intelligence as lies behind them.

HERSCHEL BRICKELL.

HISTORY

The French Revolution: As Told by Contemporaries, by E. L. Higgins. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

FOR A true understanding of the French Revolution by the general reader, no more useful and valuable book by an American has appeared. Mr. Higgins did not write a word of it; he has selected from the writings of French participants in it, written from their very different standpoints, and skilfully woven them into a connected history. In the hands of a less informed and less able editor, this would be a dangerously misleading method; in his hands it is both just and truly illuminating.

Due to his perfect skill in selection, his method actually makes events and tendencies much clearer to the general reader than do any of the popular histories that have won fame. These generally, for an example, leave the impression that the Convention found the Girondins in a majority, but a majority so tenuous as to be easily overthrown. Dumouriez, in an unanswerable account which Mr. Higgins reprints, makes it indubitable that they were entire masters of executive, legislative, of all the committees, of publicity and the press, and of that very Commune of Paris which in other histories seems to have been mob-ruled from the beginning.

For another example, the confused and contradictory estimates of Danton straighten out into a uniform and conceivable Danton; and oddly enough, through Mr. Higgins's very custom of presenting all views. Thus presented, the half-truth of one portrait is elucidated by another participant's view of the same trait. Take his "ferocity," so much talked of. Dumouriez: "Harsh, ugly, ferocious, common and ignorant." How that fact, so apparent to the not unfriendly Dumouriez, changes color in the few words of Thibaudeau, as opposed to Danton politically as was Dumouriez: "Always unconstrained and often amiable. His face, so ferocious while he was on the rostrum, was elsewhere calm and even laughing." The two sides of the shield, though both were seen by his political opponents.

The military campaigns and battles, again, are far more illuminated by Mr. Higgins's genius for selection than in the efforts of the popular historians from Carlyle to the 1930's. The same is true of everything in the book, but these few illustrations of it must serve.

CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON.

Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters, by Ray Stannard Baker. Volume Seven. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $5.00.

PREVIOUS volumes of this excellent biography of a great American President have been divided into chapters according to the subjects treated. In this volume the author ventures a radical change of method. The presentation is strictly chronological. He achieves a high degree of realism in portraying the day-by-day activities of a calm, patient, hard-working executive; but only at the sacrifice of coherence, interpretation, and a genuine understanding of the problems that confronted the war leader from April 6, 1917, to February 28, 1918. Wilson's own words, authentically spoken and written by the chief actor in the business of coordinating and unifying military and civilian effort, are regarded as of such prime moment that very little else is permitted to detract attention from the chief American protagonist in the stupendous drama. The reader must form his own estimate of Wilson and reach his own conclusions in regard to the many controversial issues of the World War.

On the very day Wilson signed the war proclamation, he also discussed the shortage of nitrates with a South Carolina Senator, presided at a Cabinet meeting, issued a statement approving the selective draft legislation, appealed for funds for the Red Cross, and dictated a letter to Colonel House, giving approval to the British plan to send a commission to this country.

During this period he measured up in every way to the enormous responsibilities that were thrust upon him. We see him in action as an astute leader of men. American destroyers are ordered to the submarine zone. He drafts Hoover and Garfield to head the food and coal organizations. He asks Congress for war with Austria-Hungary. He states his Fourteen Points. We witness his unremitting struggle to find an opening toward peace. We are with him when he receives first knowledge of the secret treaties of Europe and the initial reports of Bolshevik hostility to democracy.

Senator Pittman complained that he had never been invited to any of the official entertainments at the White House other than the regular public receptions. Representative Garner was piqued that the services he had rendered the administration in Congress had not been appreciated at their true value. These gentlemen, and many others, received prompt and tactful replies. Gratitude was likewise expressed to old friends for books, hints on how to win the war, and salmon. Wilson emerges from these pages a thoroughly efficient statesman of world stature and a very human and lovable person.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

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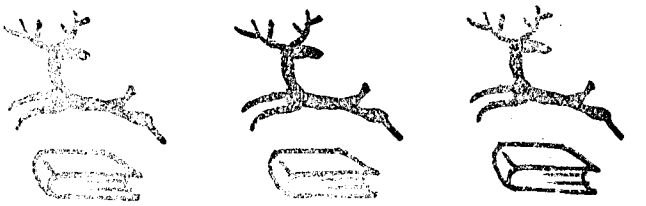
More about Books

THOSE who, years ago, read Louis Hémon's "Maria Chapdelaine" may be interested in learning that another novel of French Canada has been translated into English, "Sackcloth for Banner" ("Les demi-civilisés"), by Jean-Charles Harvey (Macmillan, Toronto, $2.25). But between the two books there is little in common except their theme. A Foreword to "Sackcloth for Banner" by Lukin Barette informs us that shortly after the French edition was published, it "drew fire from Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec." He refers to this episode as "an ecclesiastical ban." One cannot be quite sure what this means, although it is true that in the Province of Quebec a book which meets with the disapproval of the hierarchy finds a sale only through "bootleg" sources. "Sackcloth for Banner" is, at least in its English translation, a novel of very little literary interest, having many of the characteristics of a penny-dreadful. In its pages we meet drug-fiends, bootleggers, drunken American tourists; a murder takes place in a storm on the high seas; the heroine turns out to be illegitimate and enters a convent, from which she emerges on the night before her profession to die of exposure in the snow and cold (her actual last breath is drawn in the hero's apartment). It would be grossly unfair to judge of the style of the French original from the English translation, but one can at least make this inference: that if the style of the French is distinguished, it has inspired the translator to no emulation of its distinction. One is inclined to suspect that in style as well as matter, the original is jejune.

One can also understand why the Cardinal of Quebec should have disapproved the book on moral grounds; from it one gains the impression that every male member of the upper and middle classes of French Canadian society (the "half-civilized" of the French title) has one or several mistresses, that every female member of these same classes is available for adultery, and that both sexes are either pietistic zealots or hypocrites—or an incongruous mixture of both. It is true, as the reviewer in the New York *Times* pointed out, that Mr. Harvey has a deep regard for the country people, the people with a real culture, and their clergy, whose cassocks are worn green from poverty. Yet as far as I am concerned, I am not entirely sure that Mr. Harvey quite understands them either. He is one of them. He was himself born in a country village, the son of the local schoolmistress. I know intimately the village where he was born and where he spent his early life, and I know a good many of its inhabitants. He surely falls into the mistake of making them all noble—from the hardworking, God-fearing neighbor, Monsieur Savard, to the agnostic, non-practising old sea-dog, Père Jos. Of the penny-pinching niggardliness of such men as Savard and of the shiftlessness which so often characterizes the Pères Jos not a word. In fact none of Mr. Harvey's characters live; he does not penetrate deeply enough into them. They are types, and nothing else. Mr. Harvey has long been a journalist; he is today the editor of a Christian-democratic weekly, *Le Jour*. One suspects that he is a better journalist than a novelist. And it is precisely in the field of social problems that his book has real merit and a great deal of interest—as a symptom of the changes which are belatedly coming over the French-speaking portion of our northern neighbor. Here are all the ugly fruits of a too-sudden impact of city and country—loose morals, spiritual



WHAT THE WORLD IS ABOUT

Jean du Plessis is the only author of an outline of history who knows what history is about. H. G. Wells would think his book, **THE HUMAN CARAVAN** ($3.00), unworthy of a second thought—the man is obviously a Papist, whose whole view of mankind from Adam and the cavemen on, is colored by this unfortunate fact. But it is precisely the author's Catholicism that makes him able to see mankind as one whole, and history as something greater than the prophets of progress dream.

Christopher Dawson, who also knows what history is about, tells us

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE WORLD

In **BEYOND POLITICS** ($1.50) he not only diagnoses civilization's sickness and shows the falseness of the hope held out by Communism or Totalitarianism; he also shows what neglected and forgotten instinct it is that gives them ardent followers. Best of all, he proposes a third solution; it is up to us to see if it will work. But Catholics have not been idle in finding ways of at least helping each other.

WHAT IS BEING DONE

is worth studying. There is nothing on earth so encouraging as a glance at what Catholic Action throughout the world is actually doing. **RESTORING ALL THINGS: A Guide to Catholic Action** ($2.00), written by experts and edited by Father John Fitzsimons and Paul McGuire, is the first bird's eye view of the whole movement. The same book gives directions for the starting of Catholic Action groups, and (though these naturally vary from country to country) it is something to be given a way to begin.

All this activity was started by that great man whom we are all mourning. The best study we know of his life and work is Father Philip Hughes' **POPE PIUS XI** ($3.00), and we recommend it for a better understanding of a pope as great as any since Innocent III.

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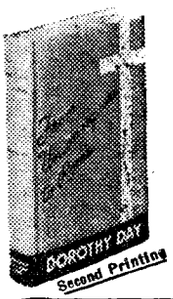

DOROTHY DAY, once a Communist writer and agitator, now editor of the *Catholic Worker*, reveals the secrets of her spiritual conquest. Brother Leo in *Columbia* says about UNION SQUARE TO ROME: "This, thank God, is a disturbing book!"

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disgust, a false and horribly irritating sophistication, which commits the unforgivable sin, for sophistication, of being just a little out of date. But the book is sincere, and adults who want to get some idea of the ferments which have produced the "padlock law" and Arcand, the general political and social complex which is today Quebec, could well afford to read "Sackcloth for Banner."

How many people remember Ouida? Not unless one is given a hint by the mention of "The Dog of Flanders" and "Two Little Wooden Shoes" would any but a very elderly person be likely to remember the name of an authoress who once achieved and held for three decades a tremendous popular audience all over the world. Yvonne ffrench has just published (Appleton-Century, $3.00) a short and delightful biography of "Madame de la Ramé," as she chose to style herself. It is called "Ouida, A Study in Ostentation." As a re-creation of the Victorian mood it is an able piece of work. Ouida (a juvenilism for "Louisa") was born on New Year's day, 1839, and was christened Maria Louisa Ramé. Her mother was a Miss Susan Sutton, an inhabitant of Bury St. Edmonds; her father, a mysterious Louis Ramé who taught school for a time in the same town, but who was more usually engaged in mysterious comings and goings between England and France. M. Ramé may even have been a spy. In time Ouida's father's support became entirely characterized by its absence and her mother's narrow means made necessary a move to London. Ouida set out to earn money by writing, and through the help of a neighbor, gained introduction to the editor of *Bentley's Miscellany*. Here appeared her first fiction. It was an immediate success, and led to a string of further successes until that change of taste which heralded the Edwardian age brought her vogue to a stop. Meanwhile Ouida moved to Italy, became "de la" Ramé, and entered into her career of grandiose living, grandiose lawsuits, and grandiose quantities of dogs. Her fiction is no longer read; yet it gave shape to a type of romantic story which still makes a good movie and is definitely a part of the tradition of English literature. The noble guardsman and the fast lady; the throbbing, illicit passion. The utter nobility of the hero; the slight aura of mystery surrounding the heroine. Ouida herself was an extraordinary character. Her adherence to principle amounted to a passion, and her principles were not entirely without merit. She abhorred cruelty, particularly to animals, but to men as well. Thus she would never write a Christmas story, even when she was offered a princely sum for one in her later, impoverished years, for she considered Christmas a barbarous season, an "epoch of slaughter and gluttony"! Altogether Miss ffrench produces a character that holds one's interest, but which, in an earlier time, would surely have been described as "an original."

A translation of Martin Block's "Gypsies" has recently appeared, more than generously supplied with photographic illustrations of these perennially interesting people, whose favorite food is roast hedge-hog, whose greatest fear is water, and who supply the world with its most consummate petty thieves and beggars. So far as I, who am far from being an expert on the subject, can judge, "Gypsies" (Appleton-Century, $3.50) is an excellent brief account of the world's most far-traveled nomads, their history, their manners and customs, their religion. To summarize it would be to deprive a reader of the fun of reading it. And since the subject has a perennial and almost universal appeal, the book can be recommended to almost anybody.

THE SAMPLER.

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The Inner Forum

FROM the very first days of his Pontificate Pius XI manifested an apostolic zeal for the cause of the missions and the development of a native clergy in mission lands. During his reign the Association of the Propagation of the Faith was transferred from Lyons to Rome, a great missionary exhibition was installed in the Vatican Gardens "to show to the admiration of the world, as on an immense stage, the heroic action of missionaries, men and women, and their native helpers," the *Fides* mission service, which goes to all sectors of the globe, was set up, and the new College of the Propaganda was built at Rome.

In 1926 the "Pope of the Missions" consecrated the six first native Chinese bishops at St. Peter's. In the first fifteen years of his pontificate thirty-two ecclesiastical districts were turned over to the native clergy in accordance with the Holy Father's mission policies which he formulated in some detail in the encyclical, "Rerum Ecclesiae," in 1926.

The latest annual report from the Belgian Congo and the Ruanda and Urini mandates gives considerable data on the character and fruitfulness of the missionary activities so warmly encouraged and furthered by Pope Pius. A missionary personnel of 40,380 persons is laboring among some 13,000,000 souls. Of the priests 1,089 are European and 72 native; there are 5 major seminaries with 223 students, 21 minor seminaries with 1,162 native students. European Sisters number 1,371; native Sisters 162, and there are 13 novitiates.

There are also 23,028 catechists and 13,978 school teachers, and much of the progress of the Church in the Belgian Congo is ascribed to its 15,776 elementary mission schools. In the course of a year 10,799,821 cases were treated in the 524 hospitals and dispensaries conducted by the missionaries exclusive of their 102 leper homes and 70 maternity welfare centers. Some 24 Catholic periodicals are printed and published by the missionaries there. Native Catholics increased from 1,767,492 to 1,944,376 (10 percent) in the twelve months ending June 30, 1938.

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